THE ENTRANCE OF MAZZARINI.

CONTINUED

Through the first years REGENCY, of ANNA MARIA of AUSTRIA, *Qu.* Dowager of FRANCE, and Mother of the present Monarch.

LOVIS XIV.

Wherein the principall causes of those Revolutions, that have since happened in that Kingdome, may be discovered.

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To the Reader.

ONce, since I exposed a former part of these relations, I thought rather, to have letten that go out of it selfe, which had gotten out into the light; then by adding more fuell to warme my selfe any longer at the censures of my owne kindling. But leisure and a long winter, joyn'd with the other incentives of my friends, made me light at last this end too; I doubt to wast before the Sun, and burne

day

day-light, being only a divulger of things, that were before publick in other languages. And so, my only wisdome might have been, to have hidden my head in obscurity, while I left my body so obnoxious: but I love not to complement so far, as to furnish that would be too ready to accept of it, any one, with a reall argument against myselfe. I had rather have it thought, as it is in truth, that I am not meerely a Collectour out of any others, that have written in the same fashion, which no other has done hitherto: but I myselfe have made my own subject, and squar'd my designe out of whole quarries, without

without any injury to another man's wall. Though, I must confesse, I have not yet deserv'd to challenge so much credit to my self, without any other recommendation. But as the first is above my merit; so the second is too averse to my proper inclination: And therefore, I appeale rather, to the favour of my fortune, which lies in the Candor of my Readers, and so take a long adieu of them, and of any the like adventures for the future.

The Second Part of the ENTRANCE of MAZZARINI.

THe death of *Lewis*, ſurnamed the *Juſt*, was no leſſe to be counted immature in reſpect of his age, which was but of two and forty years; then of that of his Succeſſor, which was but of foure and eight months: and of the intereſts of his Crowne, which, on other more accounts, were to look for moſt apparent and ſure

concuſſions. For his grand ene-
my the *Spaniard*, who before had
beaten many waies to get a ſu-
ſpenſion of hoſtility, on expecta-
tion of this accident, and the con-
ſequences likely to enſue, did
now confound the ſent, and ut-
terly refuſe to be found again in
the ſame tracks: but rather bent
his whole ſagacity and power to
drive it to extremity. The de-
pendents on the Crowne for it
wonted powerfull aides particu-
larly the *Swedes* and *Catalonians*
were grievouſly ſtricken with th
ſenſe of the ſame thing: and a
its allies became the colder i
their Treaties, by how much th
affaires were more importan
eſpecially the *States* of *Holla*
would needs let the cord fli
which ſo lately held them in th
ſtricteſt league. Within the King
dome, the Houſes of *Vendoſm*

Guiſe, *Eſpernon*, *Rohillon*, and others of the more potent, pretended to high ſatisfactions, for the injuries that the late Government had left upon them. Nay, the *Queen* herſelfe and *Duke* of *Orleans*, had matter of high diſpleaſure againſt the creatures and alliances of the late *Cardinall* (which yet held the chiefe places of authority & dignity in *France*) from whom they had each endured a long perſecution. The ſeverall high Officers of State and Warre, that had been at pleaſure deprived, exiled, confined. The *Courts* of *Parliament*, whoſe power had been in a great part exauctorated: and the people that had ſuffered ſo long, and miſerable impoſitions to the maintenance of ſundry great armies, and payment of vaſt penſions to forraine *States* and *Princes* might now

combine ſeverally to make a new ſettlement very tachy and untractable. What, that the *King* left an empty *Exchequer*, and neceſſity for the ſame charges, if not greater, to be ſtill continued, while the ſame occaſions ſtill remained in open and vaſt dominions, that were inviron'd on all ſides with potent enemies, and had no other walls, then Armies to defend them? What, that this defence was vaine without offending, and this offending was either ſubject to great loſſes; or at beſt, encreaſed thoſe ſcattered acquiſitions, which drew the blood from the heart to the extremities? This was the outward face of things, beſides the more impenetrable difficulties, which a multitude of pretenders might occaſion in the working of their intereſts. Let us therefore purſue

the winding of these torrents, and see how they may loose their eddinesse in the current of events.

On the day after the late *Kings* death, the *Qu. Regent*, accompanied by the *young King*, the Dukes of *Anjou* and *Orleans*, with the guards of foot and Horse, and a numerous throng of People came from St *Germans* into *Paris*, and went strait to dismount at the *Louure*: from whence the young King dispatched forthwith his Letters to the *Parlement*, wherein he imparted to them the death of the King his father, commanding them to continue in the exercise of their charges, and that he expected when they should come to make a new oath of fealty to him, without making any mention of the *Queen Regent*, who thereupon (if we may believe that such an action should

be done without her cogniſance, expreſſed her ſelfe to be diſſatiſfied as well as the *Parlement*, for that a new Oath was required of them againſt cuſtome: but the fault was all laid upon the Miniſters: and in Particular the *Secretary de. Guenegaud* bore ſome check for it, which, it may be thought, he did not feele much, as being not alone in it. The *Parlement* expected when the *Queen* ſhould come to their Court, to take poſſeſſion of the *Regency*. The Miniſters of the *Court* when the *Parliament* ſhould come thither in their Body, and Scarlet Robes, as they uſe when they march in Ceremony, or aſſemble themſelves about the publick affaires in the Kings preſence) to doe obeiſance to the King and Queen. But now (if ever) was a time to ſtand on priviledge. Wherefore

the *Parlement* considering ancient customes, agreed only to send their Deputies thither in their blacks, the rather to elude the new Oath pretended to be offer'd them. These addressed themselves to their *Majesties*, assuring them of their Allegeance, and beseeching the King to come and sit on his bed of Justice (as the *Royall Throne* in the *Parlement* is there stiled.) In fine these Offices are accepted in the forme as they are rendred, and their request is granted.

But ere these *Deputies* part, the *Duke* of *Orleans* has other busines with them, which neither any scruple within his spirit, or gout within his shoe can hinder him from bringing. He acquaints them therefore that in the time of the King his Brother, he had brought to the Parlement a De-

claration, and made ſemblance of approving it, that he might not be taxed with diſobedience: but in truth that he judged that Declaratiõ to be defective, & not obſervable: eſpecially in that part which reſtraines the Authority of the *Qu. Regent*, to whoſe prudence he intended to be the firſt that ſhould remit the ſum of the *Government*, without whatever limitations: and tells them further, that the *Prince* of *Condè* was alſo of the ſame mind. Indeed they both knew how intimately the *Queene* might be grieved, that, contrary to former precedents, her *Regency* was ſo reſtrained and hamper'd by the King deceaſed, and therefore ſought by the freeing of her intereſts to clear their own: for the ſame preſcript forme of *Government* did equallize them (the *Firſt Princes*

of

of the Blood, notwithſtanding their prerogatives in the cuſtome of that Kingdome) with the other Councellors, and, it may be when accounts were caſt, render them much inferiour: for if all reſults were to paſſe by plurality of votes, t'was eaſy to be gheſſed, that the *Card. Mazzarin*, the *Secretary* de *Chauigny*, and the *Chancellour Sequier* might joyne together for their common intereſt and ſway all affaires at their owne pleaſure. This was a notable ſtroke of the *Princes*, that looked like a generous action, and was received with good applauſe as moſt agreeable to the *Government* of *France*, which had ever been a *pure Monarchy*: but there was another fate in it, then they expected, though at firſt it ſeemed to run luckily.

On the *Monday* following, which

which was the 18th of *May* and fourth from the Kings death, the *Qu.* brought her *Royall Pupill* to place him in the Throne of Justice, and herselfe at his right-hand; accompanied with the *Duke* of *Orleans*, the *Princes* of *Condè* and *Conti*, the *Duke* of *Vendosme*, and other the *principall Peeres* and *Officers* of the Kingdome, where the *Yong King* first broke up silence with these words: *Messieurs*, I am come to see you to testify my affections to you. My *Chancellor* will tell you the rest. But first the *Queen* and *Princes of the blood* tooke their turnes, which may deserve some recitall. She expresst herselfe thus;

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The death of my Lord *the late* King, *although it has not at all surprised me, by reason of his long weakneſſe, yet has it fild me with*

so

ſo much griefe, that hitherto I have been uncapable of comfort, or of councell: and although the affaires of the Kingdome *ſhould require a continuall application to ſuffice to all occaſions both at home and abroad; my affliction has been ſo great, that it has put me beſide the thinking what I were to doe, till t'other day that your* Deputies *came to ſalute the* King *my* Son *and bring their proteſtations of* Loyalty and Obedience *to him, beſeeching him to come and ſit on his Throne of Juſtice, and take the place of his* Anceſtors, *which act is conſidered as a marke of* Royalty, *which I were willing to doe this day to teſtify to this Company, that on all occaſions I ſhall be well contented to ſerve my ſelfe of your* Councells, *praying you to give unto the* King my Son *and unto* Me *ſuch as you ſhall judge in your Conſciences*

ces

ces to be moſt conducible to the good *of the* State.

Then the *Duke* of *Orleans*, reſuming the Speech, addreſſed it to the *Queen*, remonſtrating to her.

The ſatisfaction which all the Kingdome *ought to have of her actions, as he had ſufficiently ſignified to the* Deputies *of* Parlement *the laſt* Saturday, *when he told them that the whole* honour *of the* Government *was due not only to her* Condition *as* Mother *of the* King; *but alſo to her* merit *and* virtue: *and that the* REGENCY *being conferred on her by the order of the late* King, *and afterwards verified in* Parlement *in his preſence, he did not deſire any other part in affaires then what ſhould pleaſe her to impart to him, not pretending to any vantage from whatſoever particular clauſe contained*

tained in the foresaid Declaration.

The *Prince* of *Condè* applauded the generosity of the *Duke*, adding withall, that it was not only profitable, but also necessary to the good *government* of the *STATE*, that the cheife authority should not be divided.

Then succeeded the *Lord Chancellor*, and after him *Monsieur Talon*, the *King's Advocate*, whose formall speeches cannot be brought into our lists, without breaking them. At last, the *Chancellor*, rising from his Seat goes to the *Royall Throne*, and Kneeling there expects the *Kings* opinion from the mouth of the *Queen*, who excused her Selfe, alledging that she had no other then the sense of the *Parlement*. Whereupon returning to his Seat, and asking the opinion of the rest, the *Duke* of *Orleans* added,

that

clause that the clauses inserted in the last *declaration* did always seem extraordinary unto him, and without example: Nor had he even subscribed to them, but for obedience, & not to contradict the *King's* will, though he ever thougt they could not be put in executions; and as he had, for his owne particular, quitted all pretensions in it; so now it was his judgment, that the whole authority should be committed to the *Queen*. The *Pr.* of *Condè*; and all the other *Nobles*, *Officers*, and *Councellours* concurred in this vote: and so the *Chancellor* (howsoever, one may conclude, against his mind) pronounced the *arrest* following.

The *King* sitting on his *Throne of justice* in the *presence* and with the *councell* of the *Duke of Orleans his Uncle of his Cosins the Princes of Condè*

Condè and of Conti, and of other *Princes*, *Prelates*, *Peeres* and *Officers* of the *Crowne* hath declared & doth declare the *Queen* his *Mother*, *Regent* of *France*, according to the will of the deceased *King*, his most honored *Lord* and *Father*, to have care of the education and nourture of his *person*, and the *absolute*, *full*, and *entire administration* of the affaires of his *Kingdom* during his *Minority*. His aforesaid *Majesty* doth also will and intend, that the *Duke* of *Orleans* his *Uncle* shall be *Lieutenant Generall* in all the *provinces* of the said *Kingdome* under the *Authority* of the said *Regent*; and that under the same *Authority* his foresaid *Uncle* shall be *chiefe* of his *Councill*, and in his absence his *Cosin*, the *Prince* of *Condè*, it resting in the will of the *Queen* to make choice of persons of worth and experience in such

number

as ſhe ſhall think fit, to debate in the ſaid *Councills*, without being otherwiſe obliged to follow the *plurality of voices*, then ſhe her ſelfe *pleaſeth*. His aforeſaid *Majeſty* ordaines that this preſent *arreſt* be read, publiſhed and regiſtred in all *Baily-wicks &c.*

The *Queen* felt her ſelfe now well eſtabliſhed; and the *Card. Mazzarini* with the *Secretary de Chavigny* expecting nothing leſſe then to be licenced, or fall into worſe diſgraces were ready to demand retirement; when the *Queen*, pretending only as ſhe expreſſed her ſelfe, not to depend on her *Miniſters*, but they on her, confirmed in the *Councill* all that had been nominated by the King her huſband: and in particular (though the ſcope of the *Parlement* ſeemed to winde another way) treated the *Cardinall* with de-

demonſtrations of a ſingular eſtimation: whereby t'was ſoon left to be gathered, that ſhe was no leſſe jealous of ſaving her own power, by taking caution againſt the only ſway of the *Princes of the blood*; then *Lewis* himſelfe had been of his Childrens intereſt on that ſuppoſall. Yet beſides theſe ſhe added to her *Council* the *Biſhop* of *Beauvais*, her *grand Almoner*, ſending to *Rome* to get the red hat for him: and joyned him with the *Card. Mazzarin*, and one *F. Vincent Gen.* of the *Miſſionaries* in the *Council* of *Conſcience* for the diſtribution of benefices.

The ſeaſon of the year was now advanced to a high *Campagne*; for the furthering whereof towards *Italy*, we have heard already what overtures were made to thoſe of *Venice*: But to inforce this towards *Flanders*, 'tis

how time to examine what issue the other treatyes with those of *Holland* might produce.

It came to a signing of articles by *Ambassadors*, and *Commissioners* on either part, dated *March* 30 1643. the tenor of which imported thus much.

That the *King*, & *Lords States* shall set on foot an army of 18 or 20000, Foot, and 4500, o 5000, Horse, which shall ente into *Flanders* the next *May*, if h that is *Commander* in cheife fo the *King* of *Spain* doe not issu sooner but in that case the *King* and the said *States* shall be ob liged to set out their Armies bot at the same time, on what soeve side the enemy shall turne: That that of the *Lords States* shall atta que some strong fortresse on the side, and his *Majesty* on his: o else give such diversion to the

nem

nemy, by ſtriking into his Country, that may divide his forces and leave the *Prince* of *Orange*, by that meanes, the greater facility in gaining of his Enterpriſe. Yet, that if his *Majeſty* intend but a ſimple diverſion, that then he put himſelfe into the field a fortnight before the ſaid *Prince*. But if both reſolve to attaque ſomeplace that then they ſhall preciſely iſſue on the ſame day.

The ſaid *Lords-States* doe oblige themſelves, by the 8th of *Aprill*, to equippe at their owne charges a fleet of 30 Veſſells of warre provided with two, three, four, and five hundred boats to ply about the Coaſt of *Calais* to hinder the enemys paſſage into *Flanders* by Sea, and in caſe the *Kings Army* does attaque any place on the Coaſt of *Flanders*, the ſaid 30 Veſſells ſhall remaine

on the ſame Coaſt, during the enterpriſe, to beſiege it by Sea and helpe to the tranſportation of ſuch victuall to the Kings Army, as ſhall be ſent from *France*, or bought of them at a reaſonable rate.

Moreover the ſaid *States* doe faithfully promiſe to ſuffer the Kings forces to paſſe to and fro, upon the *Rhine* to *Weſel*, & upon the *Meuſe*, to *Maeſtrich*, when they ſhall be requeſted, ſo it may not tend to the prejudice of their *States*.

They ſhall alſo keep their Army on foot, as long as the good of the common cauſe ſhal require, and the ſeaſon of the year permit.

On theſe Conditions his *Majeſty* was to ayde the *Lords-States* for this year with, a ſumme of one million, and two hundred thouſand *Livers* to be faithfully expended by

by the ſaid Lords, in the leuying and maintaining of ſuch forces extraordinary, as were agreed on for this purpoſe, which payment ſhould be made punctually at 3 termes, (viz) foure hundred thouſand *Livers* at the ratifying of this treaty, four hundred thouſand more, next *July*, and the reſt in *October* following.

Only the ſaid *Lords-States* doe conſent, that upon the ſaid ſumme of one Million, and two hundred thouſand *Livers* received, the penſions of the *French Officers* ſhould be taken out, and paid according to the treaty of *June* 1630, and of *Avrill* 1634, whereby a ſumme of fifty thouſand *Livers*, was reſerved to be diſtributed by the *French Ambaſſadour* to the *French Officers*.

Laſtly, that this treaty ſhall no ways derogate from any former; but

but rather confirme them all in full force and vigor.

The ſtone was not rolled thus farre without great travell, but it ſoone recoiled, and got thereby a Croſſe-byas, wedg'd in with ſuch reaſons, as will diſcover thẽ ſelves hereafter: But if ever t'were worth the coſt of ſuch penſions, ſo many yeares continued, to purchaſe the ſlowfooted aides of the *Hollanders*, beſides the proffers of a faire partage, let them account (for me) whom it more concernes, what are fit conditions for the Engliſh.

But in the Interim the *Spaniſh* forces, that ~~are~~ we left hovering about the frontires of *Picardie*, are no way negligent to gaine their advantages: to wch purpoſe they had ſent before ſome part of their Army, which they ſtill augmented with new recruites (the *French* correſponding with them in the ſame manner) till *Don Franceſco*

Francesco di Melo a Portughese at that time *Governor* of the low Countryes for the King of *Spain*, arrived with the maine succours drawne from *Luxenburg* and the neigbouring *Provinces* making up in all an army of five and twenty thousand men effective.

This party was so highly satisfy'd with such a trust reposed in him, and so desirous to recommend himselfe by a brave discharge of it (so as they are commonly affected, that have no great pretensions besides their own merits) that he had multiplyed letters to the Court, and *Councill* of *Warre* at *Madrid*, communicating his intentions about the ordering of this *Campagne*, which were, not to attaque any place, least he should endanger the crumbling of his *Majestys* forces in those parts against some rugged siege, but only

only to appear on the frontires of *France*, and be in a readines, when any alterations should happen there by the *Kings* death, to follow his advantage: or siding with some party, that should have recourse to him, make his entrance within the heart of that *Kingdome*, which might exceedingly enhance conditions at the opening of the treaty for a generall peace, that had been now some time in agitation, and *Plenipotentiary's* furnished on both sides. A designe, wherein he met with much applause, as fitted to the juncture of affaires then current. But he incurred the ordinary fate of such ambitions, as covet to overdoe their actions, though he had raised in himselfe, no lesse then others, a great expectation of his Conduct in this expedition, by his successe the yeare before at the battell of *Honcourt*.

On

On the ninth of *May* he musters his Troupes about *Quesnoy*, distributing among them some pay, and then leaves the *Count* of *Fuensaldagne*, *Governor* of *Cambray* with foure thousand foot, and two thousand horse, about those quarters to advance, as occasion should require; he himselfe marching with twelue thousand foot, and seven thousand horse towards *La Capelle*, where he made a shew of sitting downe: but rising on a sudden entred into *Teirasche*, a Province that lies 'twixt *Picardie* and *Champagne*, harrassing and burning the Country thereabouts (as if indeed his stroke pointed to the heart of *France*) while he sent the *Count* of *Isembourg* with a party of sixe thousand foot, and two thousand horse to sit downe before *Rocroy*, a place so little, that one may thinke, it was not much

suspected,

ſuſpected, being alſo ſo ſlenderly provided of a Garriſon, that it had not above three hundred foot in it, without horſe: yet of great importance, becauſe from thence there is a ready way to *Paris* without the paſſing of any river, whereupon the reſt of the Army ſoon arrived, and ſetting themſelves to ſtorm the fortreſſe, which was but of five Bulwarks not enskonced, but only warded by ſome halfe moones, within 3 days they carried four of theſe, the Governour *Tuffreville* for ſcarceneſſe of people being glad to draw his ſouldiers to ſecure the body of theplace; yet in gaining one of them, the *Cavalier Viſconti* a Noble *Milaneſe* in this ſervice, loſt about one hundred and fifty of his tertia, on which the Cannon from the towne charged with bagg's of ſmall ſhot did great execution. Some

Some accuse the *Generall* in this place of too much confidence in his own forces with undue contempt of his enemy becauſe, they ſay, he neither ſufficiently intercepted all the advenues, whereby reliefe might come to the City nor yet tooke care to intrench himſelfe, which had he beene a true *Spaniard*, he would not have omitted. It may be, he did it to be punctuall to his engaged deſigne of not beſieging any place, nor thought this deſerved the delaying of his army: but might be forthwith carried, and otherwiſe not ſo fit to be left upon his backe, when he ſhould ſweepe his way before him into *France*, which, as he thought had no army in a readyneſſe to counterpoiſe him, or once appear before the place diſtreſſed in any ſeaſon to relieue it: But, if I may

be

be as free to deſcant as other men peradventure *Melo* intended to reſerue ſome maſterpeece till he might ſhew it in the effect it ſelfe, if fortune had beene ſo favourable to his deſignes, *as commonly thoſe that have an ambition of glory mix'd with the love of their Maſter's ſervice (as if they thought themſelves in effect to be free, and not in reaſon ro be gaged, like meere Inſtruments, to the ſolitary ends of any other) doe affect to retayne always ſomwhat in their owne power, and diſcretion, by which they may upon occaſion, ſhew themſelves apart in ſome ſufficiency of their own. But theſe are not the leaſt ſubject to miſcarriages, whether for having too faire an hope in Contingencies, they aime at great things overhaſtily, and ſauing their activity for ſuch periods, become too perfunctory in the intermediate actions, whereby*

they

they ſhould ſecure their progreſſe; whereas neither hope, nor proofe of fortune ſhould make one ſleight the leaſt moments in the balance, and ſome ſucceſſe ſhould rather take vp from oſcitancy, becauſe the reaſon of all events is ſo variable: or elſe, for being inwardly puffed vp, they are apt to bound over thoſe occurrents, which they may leave to be ſtumbling blocks another time.

Yet to bring this ſiege to the better iſſue, and hinder any aides from that ſide, he ſends order to *Generall Bek* to hold himſelfe with a thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe on the frontires of *Luxenborg*, in aſſaulting a little Caſtle there, vpon the *Meuſe*, which might alſo ſecure any Conuoyes from the towne of *Namur* for the ſerving of his own Campe, and keep thoſe forces in a readineſſe to joine with him whenſoever

ver notice should be given.

The newes of this enterprise
ing brought to the *Duke* of *Eng*
en, a Captaine of two and twen
years old, the the flower off *Fre*
Galantrie, inspir'd his soule wi
no lesse joy in the hope of a ba
tell, then it would some other
the certainty of a triumph rea
dresst, and set before them: As
the only Heroick love were t
of glory, and the only Courtsh
this of danger.

He was then quartered wi
fourteene thousand men abo
Encre, a faire towne on the utm
frontires towards *Artois*; whi
was the directest way from t
midst of *France* to the midst
Flanders: Incontinent he beat
rendevous to those troopes th
he had in a readynesse, and se
his march towards the Enemy, di
patching present orders to oth

tw

two brigades commanded by the *Marquis* of *Gênres* and *Monsieur d'Espenan* to joyne with him upon the way: which accordingly put in punctuall execution, he aduanced with an Army twenty thousand strong to deliver the place besieged, using diligence in his march, because he was resolu'd to engage the first that should impeach his proceeding. But when he was come within four Leagues of the City, he had intelligence that it was invested by all the *Spanish* forces, hard pressed, and driven from their outer fortifications, circumstances that would have turn'd, or whet his blade beyond the edge, if it had not been good mettall, but being now brought almost to the point of ingagement, he soin'd with some suspence, to make thereby the better judgment of

a paſſe which was to reach the heart of his enemy. The ardor of this *Prince* was happy in the ſymbolizing of his cheife *Officers*, but eſpecially of the *Mareſchal de Gaſſion*, whoſe pareil inclinations, heighth'ned with a lively induſtry, and long experience, (gotten in the diſcipline of the cheifeſt Maſter of the modern age, the great *Guſtavus*) prompted his *genius* to the ſame affectations, and gained therewithall the heart of his *Generall*. Whereupon he ſends him before with a thouſand horſe, to caſt in ſome recruits into the place, and to diſcover the ſtate of the *Spaniſh* Army, whether it were intrenched, or whether it advanced to meet the ſuccours: Having well conſidered the faſhion of the *Leagure*, for want of foote, he diſmounted two hundred *Carabines*

Carabines and *Firelocks* committed to the guidance of the *Sieur de S. Martin*, and left them lurking in the hedges with an hundred horse to assist them, while he with the rest went to beat up the enemy's quarters, & fell on the guard of *Cavalry* which belonged unto *Bucquoy*: wherein though he found himselfe so unhappily encumbred in a marish ground, that he could not make so strong an impression as he intended; yet he did not faile of his whole designe; for this so sudden, and furious an *Alarme* to that quarter of the enemy made them run thither and leave an open field for the succours to enter into the City; which immediately infused such a new courage into the breasts of those defendants, that the fire which grew intense before, by being traitned, did now enforce its pas-

sage with the more violence: t
these considering the danger
approaches of the enemy, that h
shouldered themselves under so
earth within a narrow marg
of their towne ditch, and th
their Sally-port being too r
mote, did leave them roome the
to dispose themselves at large, a
so to prepare an Assault witho
difficulty, tooke an hardy, and c
pricious resolution to slide dow
by a rampire, with their *Musk*
betwixt their leggs, & their bac
staied on them; which as read
done, they hastned to storme th
approach, and met so good succ
in it, that they presently cleer
all that trench, and cut in pee
those that guarded it.

The tempered discourse
Gassion when he came to gi
the *Generall* an account of h
delegacy on this affaire, joyn
wi

with so faire a proofe at the first commencement of the action, did secretly transport his mind with such a passion, as, you may thinke, one cannot describ or imagine, that cannot have the happinesse to feele somwhat like it: but t'was as the quintessence of some rich spirits, drop by drop, infused into his flames, which at first, with a kind of unsatiable covetize of hearing, drew the matter to the center, restraining his soule by excesse of pleasure to a narrow compasse so full of vigor, that it could not long containe its selfe from impatiency: and yet for fear, least betraying such a passion he might encounter some ungratefull contestation of his end with those by whom he was to atchieue it, he matures the calling of a *Councill* of *War*, before which, with the continency

of a well-weigh'd *Generall*, he puts the queſtion to the board what might be fit to doe in this juncture.

And firſt the *Lieut. General* of *l'Hoſpital* (if I may here uſe a privilege by preſcription, which I my ſelfe allow not in a profeſſ Hiſtorian) deliver'd his mind in this manner.

Were it now a time to raiſe the firſt repute of the French nation, whoſe courage and proweſſe is the moſt renowned of any other; or vindicate our own valor, which is not that of new men, or of freſh Soldiers, from the obloquy of the world; or if we had to do with rude and barbarous enemies, as we have with thoſe that are Competitors with us in military force and diſcipline, I ſhould not utterly refuſe this time for engagement, though under many diſadvantages. But

ſince

since our end is rather to uphold a reputation already gotten with the acquists that have attended it, & this may be done with honour, by a bare waiting on the enemie to straiten & incommodate him (which will be look't upon at this time as a mating and outbraving of him) and a battell can't be offer'd without apparent difficulties and most unequall hazzards, I thinke it may deserve some serious pondering, if not a plaine suspense of any further action at the present; unlesse such as I hinted before, or casting in some more succours, if need require, within the place, which if it serve but to defend it, and so defeat the Spaniards of their designe, it may suffice by it self to overthrow their army without any notable losse or hazzard; and this is as noble a way of overcomming, as the gaining of a

field

field, and more Cæsarean: for he though he never refused to stand th fury of our untrained Ancestors yet when he was to fight with Afra rius or Pompey, men of the lik expertnesse with himselfe, he studie still to gaine by his conduct, & shif a Battell to extremities. And if w can earne the victory, it matters no so much whether it be by the strok of fortune or the sithe of time; fo it will be weighed rather by its con sequence, then the first bruit of it But if we venture a battell nowwith out necessity, in my opinion we shal but lay great oddes on an even wa ger; if (at least) I may call it even while our enemies are more in num ber; and our superiours in artillery and ammunition: and what thou the issue of the battell should favou our audacitie? What should we gai besides the field? whereas if w should fall to loose it, as what en-

deavour

deavours of man can hinder the poſſibilities of the war?) we muſt inevitably expoſe our Countrey and hazzard the embroiling of it in all manner of confuſions: for if his Majeſty ſhould now ſhortly yeeld to his languiſhing, wch is generally feared, & this army, which otherwiſe might ſerve to balance the peace of France, and keep the war without it ſhould be overthrowen, I dare not imagine what might follow. Wherefore my advice at preſent is to temporize, rather then engage further then we may draw our army off at our owne diſcretion.

Thus he ſpake and there were others of his opinion. But the glory, hope, and courage, which now had lighted a fire of emulation in the generous heart of *Gaſſion* were ſo incented by the ſprinklings of theſe more cooler deliberations (as the moſt Heroicke ſpirits feele the influence of

the ſun upon their hearts, mor
then that other of the moon upo
their brains) that the difficultie
objected in this enterpriſe, mad
his vertue glow the more intenſe
knowing that the merit would b
more precious by how much th
preſent exigency of the *State* wa
more ſenſible, the renoun mor
cleer & evident by the puiſſanc
of the enemy, & the victory not un
certain with that reſolution, whic
he did not ſeem to himſelf to hav
put upon him, like an harnes, bu
to have inſpir'd in him by the ge
nius of ſucceſſe. Which drew a re
ply from him to this effect.

*The ſuccours, which have alrea
been caſt into this place, may we
ſerve to rouſe the induſtry of our e
nemies, but not to ſecure it: and i
we will decline the Battell, we mu
incurre the hazzard of ſeeing it fo
ced to our beards; or if we caſt it
mor

more supplies, divide our strength, and neither leave our selves in state to offer or refuse it. But in my opinion, since the enemie has a rich Country of his own behind him, & is now set down without a curtain before this hold, there is no other way remaining either to incommodate or oppose him, but offering combat, and obliging him to accept it; which now he shews a freedome to: but if wee once let the occasion slip, will scarce be found so much at open guard again. For my part, I cannot count it safe to delay any time of impeaching the enemies design, nor agreeing with the reputation of our Armes, being thus near to forbeare affronting him. Nor yet that more courage should be added to his present insolency, or any dispondence to our own men, which the pride of the Spaniards, and our own diffidence must needs create in them. And

therefore this is my advice and de-
sire, that we make all haste possible
to ciment with them.

So he left abruptly, thinking that in short speech there are quicker stings, and prompter resentmẽts left in the hearers; which he found true with others; but especially with the Duke, whose native ardor arising from a *French*, a youthfull, and a Royal blood, sent such spirits to croud that passage unto reason which disswaded Fighting, and opened the Files to the contrary; that hardly any argument could gain access, which did not come with the sound of Trumpet, and beat of Drum to salute the General with hope of Victory. But as great Spirits have many wayes to palliate their designes according to others mens reasons, which of themselves would not serve them above the

half way, so he, to shew himselfe the fitter Moderator, propounds a seeming middle way, but indeed a certain one, to engage *de l' Hospital*, and his other Field-Officers in a necessity of encountring. He tels them, hee would march the Army as farre as the Wood (for *Rocroy* stands upon a Green, environ'd on all sides with a woody place of tenne miles diameter) and there that they might be under shelter, and have it in their power to fight, or to doe otherwise, as they should see reason.

Which being the issue of that consultation, *Gassion* is againe dispatched to clear the way before their Army, and seize himself of such Posts as he should find convenient for disposing of the maine Body which was to follow after. Whereupon hee pusheth through the wood, repulsing only a few

few of the Enemies Guards, and enters into a Plain of a mile and halfs extent, that lyes between it and the City, without any other oppoſition, or ſhew of being taken notice of, although the *Spaniards* might eaſily have prevented him, if they had Marſhalled there firſt, and guarded onely two Paſſes, which were ſo ſtraight that neither hee, nor the reſt of the Army could have advanced through them in any order: Or if they had faln on them while they were encumbred, have gotten a great victory. But this omiſſion was imputed afterwards (as men are ingenious to find out faults for the unfortunate, and virtues for the proſperous) to an over weening fancy, which made them either ignorant, or negligent of the *French* motions, perſwading themſelves, that they durſt not bide a

Battel,

Battel, but onely assay the casting in some more reliefe; and it may be therefore fear'd to draw off at any distance from the place, lest the *French* Cavalry should find means to effectuate that design.

Gassion, being thus advanc'd to amuse the Enemy, and by accosting nearer to inure his own men to be more confident, and more familiar with danger, marches on with twelve Troops of Horse to goe and view the Huts of the Enemy, and what extent they occupyed, whereby hee soon perceiv'd, that General *Melo*, as if he sleighted this shew as a meer bravery, did but slowly rouse to put his people in Battalia, and therefore, as a safe time, dispatcheth notice to the Duke to hasten his advancement with the rest of the Army; who no lesse impatient of all delayes, was gone afore with a small

ſmall party of Horſe to pry and learn the ſite of the places thereabouts; but immediately upon this advice inorders the Marquis of *Gèures* to march afore diligently with the Vantguard, to ſecure yet further the paſſage to the reſt: But it was ſo troubleſome, that afore the *French* Army could get well through, the *Spaniſh* was come up in ſet Squadrons ready to charge them, which made the *Duke* puſh his Van the more forward to get room, obliging the *Spaniards* to quit a certain eminency which they had firſt gotten.

The Captains that had been met in *Melo*'s Prætorium to adviſe about the Battel were diverſly inclined, particularly the Camp-Maſter General, the Count of *Fontaines*, a Souldier of fifty years experience, delivered this as his

ſence:

ſence: That it would be the beſt way to guard their ſtation onely til General *Bek* ſhould arrive with his ſupplies of four thouſand men more, but a few houres thien diſtant, and at night to entrench themſelves, that ſo the Enemy might not venture to come on till they were ready for them without apparent hazzard. But the *Governour General*, reputing himſelf to have already the over-powering of his Adverſary, and the taking of opportunity by the forehand to be neceſſary to his proceedings, diſpoſed himſelfe rather to prepare for the Battel.

The two Armies being come within Musket-ſhot, ſaluted one another with loud out-cryes, caſting their Hats in the air, and their Montiers in one anothers faces: And as if the manner of managing each Army had been debated in the

the ſame Councel, and Fortune reſolved to put them on even termes before the Combat, they both deferred the deciſion of the quarrel till the next day, beating as it were an *alta* by mutual agreement, and that (which the oldeſt Souldier did admire) with ſo much quiet on both ſides (except that their Cannon began to parley before the evening, to the greater damage of the *French*, that were the worſer furniſhed of Artillery) that a falſe Allarm did not paſſe all night between them. The Duke though he would faine anticipate *Bek*, yet could not come up to engage, becauſe his left Wing had yet but a dangerous ſtation among the Marſhes. The ſame reſpect to *Bek* made the *Governour* entertain the ſame reſolution, being herein, it may be, the more unhappy; that he neither

ther entirely followed his owne inclination of buckling sooner while the *French* were encumber'd, nor yet the counsel of *Fontaines*, to entrench himself: but being still tenacious of his first conceipt, lest the *French* should get more succours to pass into the Town, he by night withdrew his Army nearer to it, and brought himselfe to want such roome as before he had commodious for him.

The Marshal *de Gassion* made a better use of the darknesse, to enlarge his right Wing (a stratagem which hee said hee had learned from his Master *Gustavus*) with which hee intended to assayl that of the *Spaniards* in the Flanks, and 'twas observed, that hee did not herein fail of his judgement, but rather that it was a main stroke to the Victory.

In

In the meane time the Duke of *Anguien*, to shew how capable a young spirit may be of commanding virtues, rides about all night with some of his chief Officers to animate his Troops with his own life and presence; to acquaint them with the true reason why he did not leade them on to fight the day before; not for any shadow of fear, or diffidence, unlesse in the untrustinesse of the ground, and promising to conduct them the next day to the head of their Enemyes. A thing that assured his Souldiers to him; endearing his courage to their affection, and their endeavours to his utmost service. But when the Armyes met again the next morning, that of the *Spanish* houted to the *French* with opprobrious language, the tydings of their *King's* death, which indeed the *French Generals* had

had received over night, with order (as 'twas reported) not to venture on a Battel; but they so prudently dissembled it, that this stratagem was deaded (like a Cannon shot in Wool-packs) by the incredulity of the Souldiers; and so now nothing else remained but the chocque it self.

The *French* Cavalry (in all six thousand, were dispos'd to either Wing, and interlaced with choice Musketiers to protect them; and the whole Army (except a Body of Reserve commanded by the *Baron de Sirot*, of about twelve hundred Horse) made a great Front, and so advanced with a just and steady pace against the *Spanish* Army, which had drawn it self up within an halfe miles distance nearer to the Town, in a readiness to receive them. But these in the marshalling of their

Army

Army were much disgusted by the setting of the Duke of *Albuquerque*, a young Gallant, privileged by his birth to bee a Grand of *Spain*, to command the Horse in prejudice of the Count of *Bucquoy*, an approved Captain, who was hereupon licensed to retire to his Government of *Mons*, leaving this charge to his Competitor.

The left Wing of the *French* Army being led by the *Duke* himself, who appeared all in Iron, except his head, whereon he chose rather to wear his Hat and Plume of white Feathers, begunne a terrible and furious Charge, which not availing to break the ranks of the *Spaniards* right Wing, began to slake its first vigour, and being hardly prest to give back; not without disorder; the Lievetenant General *de l' Hospital*, and the

Mareschal

Mareſchal *de la Fertè Seneterre* being both wounded, and this latter taken priſoner, though after reſcued; the *Spaniards* gaining on this ſide all their Cannon, which were ſome eight Peeces, diſpoſed in the Front of this Wing; and the two *Swiſſe* Regiments with another of *Picardy*, placed in the ſpaces of theſe Squadrons, went to utter havock. But what the *French* loſt in one place, they gained in another; for their right Wing under *Gaſſion*, comming to charge the left of the *Auſtrians*, being weak and not ſuſtained by any Infantry, after a firſt and ſecond violent recharging overbore them, the greateſt part being cut in pieces, which ſtruck ſuch a terrour in a freſh Body of the *Spaniſh* Cavalry, that were advancing to their ſuccour, that without one Piſtol ſhot, or daring once face them

them (which some impute one
ly to their disgust) they retire
in good order to their own Infan
try, but that could not save eithe
of them: for *Gassion*'s men a
already flesh'd in carnage, pursue
so furiously, that after some ob
stinacy at last they overthre
them, making further lavish o
two Foot Squadrons, commande
by *Don Antonio di Vellanda*, an
the *Count di Vivalda*, with th
death of these, and slaughter o
more than twenty Captains, an
a thousand Souldiers.

This gave him leisure to a
tend their left wing, that reste
yet victorious: so that turning o
them in the rear while the *Baro*
of Sirot aduanced with his reserv
and the rallied fugitives, to char
them in the front, they obliged
them to cease their pursuit, an
look to their owne safety: bu
soon

soon found themselves overpowred and put to flight, leaving the Cannon which they had taken to be repriſed by the Conquerour.

Beſides a few ſhattered Regiments, which *Melo* hardly drew off (being forced to caſt away his *Generalls* baſton to ſave himſelfe) there remained nothing but 5 regiments of the Veteran *Spaniſh*, infantry, in the head whereof the *Count of Fontaines* made himſelfe be placed in a chaire, becauſe he was in fetters of the Gout, reſolving to ſacrifice their lives together for the expiating of their owne honour, and cancelling the diſgrace of the reſt of their army. They maintained their ground above 2 houres, having ſuſtained 5 or 6 charges, as if they meant to hold it out till the whole diſpute might be re-cõmenced, and force their fortune yet to ſtep into the

lighter

lighter balance, wherein the noble *Count* shew'd the excellency of his direction, and these their admirable addresse in the performance, till the eagernesse of an army just ready to touch the goal of victory, and importunely remora'd, especially the *Switzers* (raging for the losse they had sustained that day) bore so rudely on their Pikes, that at last they forced the remainders of them to crie for quarter. But their ground shew'd like the Skeleton of a battell, and the Carkasses lay so exactly in rank & file, wth such a Captain in the head of them, as might have Kindled emulation in the *Generall*, that he had not found the same bed of honour to lay himselfe in, but must returne to his Government to be shortly after outed; and in the mean while to hear him a native *Flamand* most bitterly lament

red

ted by the *Flamands*, and himself accused of al these disastres by his in-capacitie (which they objected) of such a charge as he sustained. And althoug he published severall writings (being yet a little more unhappy that none of these could fall into my hands to be inserted here in his favor) full of arguments, excusing his owne conduct; yet it could availe nothing to stop the common Vogue, which becomes deafe to all reason, where the event answers not their needs or passions.

The battel lasted 6 houres, & cost the Conquerors, as some account 2500 of their men; others but 1400. among which none of great quality save the *Count of Noailles*, The *Spaniards* losse was reckoned at least 4000, some say 5000, among which above these before mentioned was the *Count of Isem-*

borg, and 7000 taken priſoners, with 20 peeces of Cannon, 170 *Enſignes*, 14 *Cornets*, 2 *Banners* and all their baggage and ammuniti on. Nor was the ſtaffe of *Melo* a ſmall embelliſhment to the other trophies, which (if you can but phancie it) was preſented to the *Duke of Anguien* with this *Heroicke Elogy*.

Once, when the faire Charlotte *did ſalute*
The Chaſt Lucina *for her tender fruit,*
A ſhooting-ſtarre did through the Cup conveigh
That part of heaven it had unto the boy:
And then how it had found it told to fame
Another center to revive its flame.
Then let not fame now higher ſoaring doubt
To ſound what wonders in Anguien *ſprout;*
Whoſe youthfull courage', like a lambent fire
Preyes o're thoſe ſpirits which the world admire
In elder chiefes: the lightning of his rage
Diſſolves their ſwords before they dare engage.
And while their trophеys, like an ivy-bind
Climbing by ſome old wall, at laſt do wind
In ſcanty twigges about their froſty eaves

(*The*

(The goodly guerdon that their age receives)
His Laurell on his temples over ſpredde
Doth in one triumph ſhew another budde.
Then take, brave ſon of beauty and of warre
Theſe glitt'ring ſpoiles, the beamings of thy ſtar,
And let this ſtaffe, if it be placed ſo,
As that at Tralles, *to a Palme-tree grow.*

The newes of any victory is ever welcome, eſpecially at *Paris*, where they are obſerved to be the greateſt ſympathizers with their fortunes of any others: but this was not only a flouriſh to take with vulgar ſpirits, but a ſtroke that made an exquiſite harmony at the *Louure*, it being an early criſis to the *REGENCY*, and a ſymptome of convaleſcency: for it allay'd the boiling of diſcontented ſpirits, with drawing the fewell of their preſumption, and giving them leiſure to ſettle and evaporate: it raiſed the allies and confederats

of the Crowne, that now deſponding of the wonted vigor of the *French* conjunctions, were about to treat apart their intereſts with the houſe of *Auſtria*. Nor was it now a time to derogate from this exploit by queſtioning how adviſed, ſince an high valour & a like ſucceſſe had approved it. But at the Court of *Spain*, the ſame meſſenger, which brought the newes of the death of *Louis*, by which they promiſed themſelves ſo great advantages, brought alſo this of the ruine at *Rocroy*, wch quaſh'd all and made their hopes as jarringly recoile upon them, as curious wires that burſt in over-winding and ravell upon their ſprings.

Yet neither theſe diſtaſters, nor this hoſtilitie did abate any point of ceremony at that Court in ſolemnizing the exequialls of his *Majeſtie* Brother in-law of *France* in

in his owne chappell, where the *King* and *Queen* and cheife nobilitie then preſent put themſelves in ample traines of mourning, and had three ſolemne maſſes ſung, the firſt celibrated by a *Biſhop*, the ſecond by an *Arch-biſhop*, and the third by the *Pope's Nuntio*: and after that hard a patheticall oration deliver'd by the Confeſſor of the late *Card. Infanta* in the praiſe of *Louis* and his moſt Chriſtian vertues, with the circumſtances of his death, which mollified the hearts and drew tears from ſome of the Auditory, while he prudently omitted and covered ſuch paſſages, as might have turn'd the minds of the *Spaniards*. But let us take our eongie here, and back again to the Court of *France*,

Where the *King's Councill* employ their accuratedeliberations about ſome orders to be iſſued for the beſt

best improvement of the victory: But the *Cardinal's* advice, which he presented in an excellent discourse on that subject) to set presently on *Thionville* (a strong place in *Luxenborg*, which might protect the towne of *Mets* and the adjacent territory, assure the *Mozelle* with the communication betwixt *France* and the *Elector of Triers*, intercept the *Spaniards* commerce that way from the lower *Palatinate*, where they then ruled;) prevailed with the *Qu.* as a great enterprise, represented hopefull, and in case it should succeed, full of glory to her Government, as what would shew it self an entire fruit of the present guidance of affaires; without reference to any provision whatsoever, made in the former reigne. Where upon a speedy order is dispatched to the *Duke of Anguien* (who was then in prosecution of his victory,

ravaging

ravaging the enemies countrey, and sacking all places that were but weakly guarded) to hasten towards the siege of that place: but first to give the enemie a strong diversion by forcing them towards *Brussells*, and so leave them to suspect any other thing, rather then this of *Thionville*: and another order was dispatched, at the same time, to the *Marquis* of *Gévres* to go forth-with with that body that he commanded in *Champagne*, to sit downe before it, which on his part was so well executed, and the City so surprised, that he secured all the advenues till the *Dukes* arrivall.

The unfortunate *Melo*, was using his utmost diligence to recruit an armie, wherewithall to oppose the *French* progresse, & draining some of his more remote Garrisons, whereof this was

one, being then 2000 ſtrong and 80 leagues diſtant from the *French* armie, to make up a ſtrong body of Infantry, which were moſt endammaged in the late battell: but being again amuſed by the dubiouſneſſe of the enemies marching, he ſends command to General *Beck* to flank them with 6000 men, and wait upon their motions: who now gheſſing at the true deſigne, croſſed the *Meuſe* at *Namur* cutting thereby a nearet way to *Thionville*, and ſo had intercepted the *Dukes* march, but that the *French* had ſent a flying army without baggage to clear the Coaſt before them, while the reſt followed with the groſſe artillery and ammunition: yet he ſo accoſted them that before they could defend it, he put in a ſupplie of 800 men into the garriſon.

The ſiege was oppoſ'd vigorouſly

rously by frequent shots and Sallies almost two moneths. The *Marquis of Gévres* lost his life in it, The *Duke* at once had all his attendants wounded when he went to oversee a battery that was raising. *Monsr. d' Espenan* was lightly wounded in the head, and *Gasston* so grievously, that the Queen despeeded the *Count of Ranizan* to supply his place, and the *Card.* presented him on that occasion with a paire of Barbes, and sixe other Coach horses with a purse of a thousand sterlings: & there wanted no diligence to supply that army in this service. Some foot regiments were sent to recruit them out of *Burgundy*, of which one *Italian* of the *Card. Mazzarini's* & three other were raised a new to augment them under the names of the *Queen* and the *Duke* of *Orleans*, 500000 franks were sent to the

Generall-Duke, besides a summ
from his father, the *Pr. of Con*
for his private expences. T
besieged sustained the springi
of two mines, repulsed more
saults, made great slaughter, an
at last when they saw no hope
succour capitulated hard: but th
Duke, to make a shorter work
with them, & let them know wh
favour, he was ready to grant
their valour caused his other Mine
to be shew'd to their Commissio-
ners, & after gave them honorabl
articles, dated the 8th of *Aug.* 164

The *Hollanders* whose conjun
ction, according to the late treaty
was hitherto in vaine expected
(and when there was most need o
seconding the designes of thei
Confederates by some diversion
whether indeed they were jealou
of the *French* successes, or nilling-
ly induc't to comport with the

Princ

Prince of Orange's desires, while they thought their owne interests not much ingaged) began now to be drawn by a sense of som advantage, and the *Prince's* indisposition of health (which as yet served for their excuse) being now well amended, he imbarqued his army on certain vessells to attempt the prise of *Hulst*: but finding the *Spaniards* there too well provided, he had order from the *States* to attempt *Sas van Gant*, but herein also *Melo* prevented him, being ready with a good army to wait upon him, and so oblig'd him to retire to *Assenden*, where he found leisure to think of some stratagem to defray the honour and charges of his expedition, since 'twas now too late to acquit himselfe of either by force of armes.

Whereupon he sends his whole Cavalry

cavalry with 3000 foot to surpri
thequarters of *Don Andrea Cantel*
in the houses about *Antwerp*, a
the next morning puts a quanti
of his men in the habit of boor
comming early to the Marke
to seize themselves of a gate
the city: but the *Spaniards* have
ing smelt the plot pelted th
first comers with their Muske
which giving warning to the o
ther guards and notice to the e
nemy of their unsuspected disco
very, they hastned their retrea
thoug not so fast, but the *Spa*
ards with *Cantelmo*, taking th
alarme, overtook some of them
and encouraged thereby pursue
with such eagernesse, that at la
some of them fell on an ambush o
the *Hollanders*, where *Don Giovan*
Borgia Lieut. Generall of th
horse, with other Officers, remain-
ed Prisoners, and *Don Andrea* wa
forced

forced to returne with losse to his owne quarters.

This exploit suffic'd the *Hollanders* for this Campagne, & the *Lords States* found themselves so much aggrieved at the charges occasioned by the barkes that were at first imployed, that all the applications of the *French* Ambassador *de la Tuillerie*, could scarce prevaile with them from unseasonable reclaiming of their army to winter quarters, a thing which strangely disgusted the *French* Ministers, to see how little their confederates esteemed the common cause, while they loved so well their money, that sometimes they would receive it in nothing else but Franks of weight, which they might returne with most advantage in the species of their owne Countrey, And when they had received it against the

common

common enemy, employ'd it rather to counter-balance their friends prosperity, as if they more desired to gage their progresse, through jealousy of the future, then advance their owne interest with present acquisitions. And these misprisions were the more augmented by their starting back from the articles already made with *France*, alleadging that the Queen being to pay them certain summes according to the treaty, which she could not doe but by authoritie of the young King, it should be necessary to renew the overtures of agreement, wherein though they did not shew themselves obstinate, but at last complyed with the *French* Ambassador in confirming the last treaty; yet they gave the *Spaniards* to observe their coldnesse, and thereby to move with them

the

the more instantly, to sever themselves from the *French* interests, and treat apart their owne conditions of peace with the King of *Spain*: wherein they promised them the more fairely, to defeat the *French* designes towards the *Munster* treaty, as well as to divide their strength; nor failed of being well listned to, notwithstanding the great renitency of these their Allies.

And the *Swedes* in *Germany*, that erewhile had been but ill satisfied of the *French* addresses on their side, to counter-batter the house of *Austria* (since both had agreed to distract the Emperors forces by the sound and eccho of their mutuall diversions, so promoting one anothers pretentions to be urged in the treaty before mentioned) and being more diffident

fident of any further vigor in the
designe to be expected from the
crowne, since the late Cardinall
and the King, in whose person
the totall correspondency in this
affaire seemed to be involved,
were unseasonably taken off, and
a new Government to succeed,
whose abilitie, at such a juncture,
they were no lesse to suspect, then
their affection, and indeed t'was
thought the Queen's conscience
would have laboured hard with
this doubt, join'd with a passion
towards her owne house (if a
Church man had not stood by
her chaire of state with a ready
hand to assist her) began now to
think apart of their owne inter-
ests, and what conditions to make
for themselves without regard to
their late Confederacy: but as-
soone as the Cardinals letters
were imparted to them by the
Chancellor *Oxenstiern*, assuring
ther

them of the constant applications of that crowne to prosecute, as much as ever, their common designes till the generall peace: it quite restored their former confidence with resolution to persist in this issue, as was before agreed. Nor had they any reason or affection to manage their alliance so leiger-handedly as the *Hollanders* (to whom the Cardinal's letters of the like importance were yet so acceptable, that they sent copies of them to every good towne & house throughout their states: and no lesse, though it may be not expressed in the same fashion, were his others to the *Prince* of *Orange*, the *Dutchesse* of *Savoy*, the Lady *Lantgravie Van Hessen*, the King of *Portugal*, and the *Catalonians*) but to wish as well as might be to the *French* progresse in weakning the house of *Austria*, while

while they themselves were there
by enabled, together with the be
nefit of their pay and the *Germ*
booty, to exact their owne advan
tages.

But as the blood comes o
ner to the heart before it ma
an entire circulation; so the cu
rent of our discourse must back
againe to *Paris*, to consider the i
ner state of *France*, before it c
arrive in *Italy*, or in *Catalonia*.

We remember what graces we
before granted by the late Kin
and how the new Governme
did enlarge them; insomuch th
the *Queens* bounty did almost a
mount to a generall indemnity
yet with obligation to come an
justify themselves in *Parlement*,
which occasioned some difficulty
in stating the greater cases.

And first the Duke of *Esperno*
having fled into *England* in hi
father

thers life time (where the *King* conferred the garter on him) to voide the perſecutions of the late *Card.* imputing the loſſe at *Fontarabie* to his account, preſented, with his petition, a proteſtation of nullitie to the ſentence denoune'd againſt him without any legall proceſſe, and with out much difficulty was re-admitted to enjoy his eſtate with the Government of *Guienne*, wherewithall the *Count of Harcourt*, a noble cient of the *Guiſards*, had been gratifi'd in his abſence, and in lieu thereof is now recompenced with the charge of *Gran Eſcuyer* (or Mr. of the horſe) & a penſion of 10000 Crownes a year from the *King's exchequer*.

The *Duke of Guiſe* (who before his elder Brother died at *Florence*) was deſtined to the church, and inveſted with the Archbiſhopricke of

of *Reims*, the Abbacy of S. De
and 500000 liures rent in bene
ces, whereof he was deprived,
the late *Card.* (becauſe engaged
a promiſe of marriage) fou
more favour yet in the proe
of his reſtitution: for whereas
Council were ready to grant h
reparation by the uſuall forme
abolition, the Card. *Mazzar*
repreſented to her *Majeſty* wh
great averſation the old *Dutch*
had conceived againſt that form
deſiring only a ſimple declaratio
innocency (wherein her aime w
at recovering the Eccleſiaſtic
promotions, and all in one a
which though her *Majeſty* grac
ouſly condeſcended to; yet it m
with many difficulties in the *Pa*
lement, which, pleading their l
gall ſentence given againſt t
Duke, pronounced an arreſt, o
liging him to take an abolitio
which

ich at last the *Duke*, to avoide further tediousnesse was will- to accept; and so had it rati. in *Parlement*, while the instan- of the *Pr. of Condè* & *Card. Maz- ini* sufficed towards the *Queen Council* to remit also his form benefices to his dispoall. Yet the ke was now married to an other dy at *Brusselles* (where he retired *Richelieu's* displeasure, & dealt h the *Spaniards* there for the unt of *Soissons*) then her that be- re he had promised, though at his urne into *France* he left her too, d sued afterwards for a divorce. The *Duke* of *Boüillon's* case st be driven somewhat higher get a true intelligence of it. s name is *Frederick Maurice de la* , son of *Henry de la Tour* ke *of Boüillon*, Prince of *Sedan*, icount of *Turenne* &c. and of *lisabeth* of *Nassau* daughter of

William

William Prince of *Orange*, and h
the Marshall *de Turenne* for his on
Brother. His Ancestors were und
the clientele of *France*, and h
father premier Mareschal when h
died: But the present Duke, h
ving made himselfe a Catholic
some time before; joyn'd in leag
first with the Count of *Soisso*
and after that with the Marqu
of *Cinq Marcs* against the crown
(though he then commanded t
forces of *France* in *Italy*) a
being in both oppressed, he w
constrained to purchase his li
and liberty by putting his sov
rainty of *Sedan* with the adjace
domaine in the King of *France* h
power. But now he hoped if no
to re-enter on his estates by th
interest of the house of *Orange*, o
favour of the Duke of *Orlean*
whom formerly he had engaged
or his alliance with the Prin

Condè, (which was somewhat near, by marriage of one of his daughters to the Duke of *Trimouille* the Prince's Cosin Germain) where- the reason of state made strong against him: yet, at least, as a Sove- reigne Prince by birth and title, to obtain a worthy recompense, and an high ranke in *France*, with the title of *Prince* and *Princesse* to himselfe and *Dutchesse*, where- he made much instance, and found the other Dukes and Peers of *France* no lesse averse to it.

Whereupon he chose rather, then to hearken to other recompences propounded to him, to retire to his estate of *Turenne* in the Province of *Gascony*, which giving jealousy to the Qu. she sent again to him, to come and finish the affaire a- bout *Sedan*, which he pretended to satisfy; but insted thereof with- drew privately into *Italy*, where he

sojourned

ſojourned 3 years, and at laſt was glad to returne into *France*, accepting the ſame recompence that was before proffer'd to him, which was the *Dutchy* of *Auuergne* (with a ſumme of money)

The Duke of *Vendoſme*, a naturall ſon of *Henry* the 4 by the Dutcheſſe of *Beaufort*, having married *Frances*, only daughter of *Philip Emanuel* of *Lorraine* Duke of *Mercœur*, by whom he had two ſons, the eldeſt bearing title of Duke of *Mercœur*, and the younger of *Beaufort*, was with theſe his ſons, the principall of thoſe that were ingratiated and freed from the imputation of *Mons.le Grand* conſpiracie, which as readily made way for him to all his former rights and privileges beſides the Government of *Bretagne*, whereunto becauſe he had ſome pretence of property by the ſaid mar-

riage

age, the late *Card.* tooke advantage to dispossess him: as he had dealt with the former Duke of *Guise*, who claiming some right to the County of *Provence*, as descended from *Renè* of *Anion*, King of *Sicilie*, and Count of *Provence* (who left this estate to *Lewis* XI. in prejudice of the Princes of the house *Lorrain*, whereof himselfe was the next to the first, that now enjoye'd the absolute right and title to that Soverainty) and herewithall the Admiralty of the *Levant sea*, he first dissezeth him of this Government, and then procures from the King a Declaration to suppresse the charge of Admiral, and instead therof to erect that of Grand-Master, chiefe, and Surintendant Generall of the Navigation, and commerce of France, which he got to be invested in his owne person, and left by his will

to his Nephew the Duke of *Fronſac*.

And becauſe in the Duke's abſence, the Mareſchal *de la Meilleraye*, by the favour of *Richelieu* (whoſe mother being the Marſhall's fathers ſiſter made them Couſin germains) and of the Government of *Breſt* in *Bretagne* (which accruing to him by the Duke of *Briſſac's* daughter, render'd it convenient to entruſt the Lieutenancy of the whole province to his charge) did ſupplinſted of Governour, the Duke employes his utmoſt intereſt to recover that dignity wherein *Beauſo* caſting an evill eye on *Meilleray* affected ſo much paſſion, that it drew the court almoſt into parties. This occaſion'd ſome overtures to compremize this differrce with a profer to the Duke of *Vendoſme* of the Governmen

of *Champagne* in lieu of the other, and the charge of Grand *Escuyer* (then not disposed) to the Duke of *Beaufort* to quiet him: but nothing would satisfie at that time but a restitution, which dash'd all further treating, and left disturbed spirits, to agitate the animosities of *Beaufort*, as it soone appeared.

But in the mean while an accident that befell the Secretary *de Chavigny* somwhat like that other which broke over *Noyers*, if the Cardinall *Mazzarini* had not lent an hand at last to alleviate it, may entertain our contemplation with some other variety. Monsieur *Bouthiller* having had a faire time of offices and employments, was now willing to abate somewhat in the use of his fortunes and quit the charge which he enjoyed, of Sur-intendant of the finances to

the Queens disposall, hoping that this action might reflect the more favour upon his son, the Count of *Chavigny*, but she immediately conferred it on Mousieur *le Baillevl*, and Monsr. *d' Avaux* to exercise it joyntly; and whether indeed the Queen resenting that unpalatable forme of message, which the Count brought with the Kings declaration (according to which, notwithstanding, she had confirmed him in her Council) intended to chastise him with the veirges of Royall eyes, or he having priviledge to sit in Council covered, did frie (as we say) in his own grease by the dayly kindling of his conceipt, that he was not had in answerable regard or estimation: in fine, he was so much perplexed, that he could not refrain to ease his mind in the breast of his Confessor; who thereupon preaching

to

to him of the vanitie of all wordly happineſſe, or Court-favour, concluded with an exhortation to him to think of another way of employing his devoirs, for the good of Chriſtendome, by promoting of the generall peace, and inſted of that office of Secretary of the King's commandments, to apply himſelf to become a Plenipotentiary of the Crowne, at the *Munſter* treaty. Which done, this Father (*Amelot* of the order of the Orators) informes the Counteſſe of *Brienne*, what thoughts and reſolutions were working in the mind of the Secretary *de Chavigny*, who being a Lady of high deſcent, & of a preſent and ſubtle ſpirit, applauded theſe his purpoſes, adviſing the Father to keep him ſtill intent upon them. And a while after this, ſhe ſends in haſt for the Prieſt again, and then de-

livers to him, under the seale of secrecy, this intelligence, which she said she had heard herselfe in the Queens Cabinet, from her owne mouth, that the Qu. intended to remove the secretary *de Chavigny* frō his place, & therefore out of good affection, to prevent any such unhandsome accident, she had took that care to get a timely meeting with him (the said father) that by his meanes some notice of it might be conveighed to the Count to make his best advantage of it. Nor were these tidings any sooner trilled in his eare, but they found a ready credence, and as soone imported his passion with the fear of such a slurre, the doubt of removal from all other publick managements, and loosing the emolument (which they use in *France* with Royall priviledge) of his decession, so that hastening to the

the Cardinal, he importunes the favour of him, to obtaine a licence for him from the Queen, to depoſit his charge of Secretary, and he omitted no argument to diſwade him: yet (not prevailing) would not faile to ſatisfie his deſires, but accordingly procures a liberty for him to transferre his office to the *Count* of *Brienne*, re-imburſing himſelf of the charges, that he pretended.

But afore this buſineſſe was well ac compliſhed, *Chavigny* had bethought himſelfe better, and altering his reſolution, employed his principall friends, and in particular the Duke of *Bellegarde* towards the Duke of *Orleans*, to help reſtore him to his former ſtation. But the Queen anſwered, that ſhe could not ſo diſparage herſelfe and government by admitting an imputation of feminine inconſtan-

ev, that he demiſed his charge, although to the Count of *Brienne*, againſt her will, and now that he had the grant of it, ſhe would not hear of any retractation, yet ſhe condeſcended, at the inſtance of the Cardinall, to ſalve his Honour, in the nominating of him for one of her Plenipotentiaryes for the generall peace, which did a little palliate the reputation of his diſcretion, from the piercing aire of court-talke, that being a perſon of ſpirit & policie, he ſhould be ſo trepan'd between a Prieſt & a woman.

A ſleighter cauſe then, this did almoſt occaſion a great embroilement; for one night when the Dutcheſſe of *Montbazon* had revells at her houſe, ſhe cauſed one of her waiting Gentlewomen to take up two love-letters, that fell from the Marquis of *Coligny*, a Coſin & a confident of the Duke of

Anguyen

Anguyen, and so consequently of his sister the Dutchesse of *Longueville*, and thence conveighing them to her owne chamber, had them read before many Gentlemen perswading them, that that Lady had directed them to the Marquis (which was thought to be of envy, because she had a pique at this (which was the 2d) marriage of the Duke of *Longueville*.) The Princesse of *Condè* having newes of this, is presently shod with Mercury, and away she hastens to the Queen, to require justice for this injury, while the Dutches demands the producing of these supposed letters, to be confronted with others of her own, only the Husband shewes to sleight these passages; but the rest of the house of *Condè* gave to know, if the Queen did not right them, that they would fasten some affront on that Dutchesse, whose

Husband the Duke of *Montbazon*, (having some ailiance by the marriage of one of his daughters, by a former venter, to the Duke of *Chevreuse*) with the family of the *Guisardes*, had these engaged therefore to protect his house from any disgrace whatsoever. And among these, *Beaufort* would needs be the principall. The Queen commits the cementing of this rupture to the Cardinall's politenesse, and he, as the best means to procure it, perswades the Q. to invite both parties with their relations, and some persons of high quality, to her owne appartment, and there with the traine and the intruders, were about 500 persons attending on this occasion The Princesse of *Conde* exprest herselfe first.

That since her Majesty had signified her pleasure to her, that for the benefit

benefit of the crowne and her proper satisfaction, she desired to see the differences composed betwixt her house and the Dutchesse of Montbazon, *she was most willing to condescend thereunto, since for her Majestyes pleasure and the welfare of the Kingdome she was to sacrifice her life and honour.* But the Dutchesse of *Montbazon*, (having laid aside her mourning for that day, and richly cloath'd herselfe with her hair, her eyes & her black patches, set to her gallant humour) came close up to the Princesse, and after mutuall salutations began to read a billet tied to her Fan in these precise termes. *I come to protest to ye, that I am*-- where the Princesse interrupted her, saying to the Cardinall -- *see, she knowes not whom she speakes to,* but the Dutchesse not at all moved proceeds, *Madam, I am come hitherto*

protest

protest to you, that I am most innocent of the baseness, wherewithall I am charged, there being no person of honour, that can affirme such a calumny: and if I had committed any fault in this sort, I should submit readily to any penalty, that her Majesty should appoint me, nor should I ever appear in the sight of the world, without having askt you pardon. And I beseech you to beleeve, that I shall not at any time faile in that respect which I owe, and that conceipt which I have of the virtue and merit of Madam de Longueville. To which again the Princesse answerd, *Madam, I accept readily of the assurance, which you give me of having no share in the slander divulged, referring all to the Command which the Queen has herein laid upon me.* Which thus ended, the Lady of *Montbazon* turned to the Princesse and after a short discourse, tooke

her

her leave, with the like haughtines, as she shewed at her first entrance.

And it soone appeared, that these grieses were but sleightly skinned; for a while after when the Queen was invited by the Dutchesse of *Chevreuse* to a banquet, in her garden, she would have had the Princesse to have gone in with her; but she refusing to come where the Dutchesse of *Montbazon* was, her Majesty sent courteously to the said Dutchesse, to desire her, that she would be pleased to withdraw herselfe, wherin when she discover'd a great reluctancy, the Queen herselfe withdrew, much altered, and gave order forthwith to the secretary *de Guenegaud*, to intimate to her in her name, that she abstain from Court: and she indeed expecting nothing lesse, prevented that order, retiring to her place

at

at *Rochefort*, about some 30 miles from *Paris*: but thither 'tis sent after her, that she doe not stirre from thence without precise order from her Majesty.

This gave pretences to the Duke of *Beaufort* to get some blades about him: especially since 'twas commonly said in *Paris*, that the Marquis of *Coligny* being now on his returne from the Campe at *Thionville*, intended to retort some iujuryon of Madam *Montbazon* for the blemish wherewithall she had aspersi him. Nor was that common rumour of a vaine surmise: for as soone as the Marquis was arrived, he sent a challenge to the Duke of *Guise*, as the chiefe of all that justifi'd that Ladyes quarrel, wherein he fell twice wounded to the ground and was permitted by the like generosity of the Duke, which scorn'd at first to serve it

selfe

ſelfe of the prerogative of his title and quality, to riſe again. But yet at laſt, though the Duke had received a ſleight wound in his right ſhoulder, he buckled a gain ſo ſtrictly with his defier, that he forc't him to part with his ſword, and aſke his life of him, though it could not much availe him, for (God not being ſo intreated) he died ſhortly after of the hurts received in this encounter.

The Count of *Chavigny* was now providing for his journey, & whether it were for a faire diverſion, or for curioſity to ſee ſome of his choicer utenſills, eſpecially a couple of ſtatelycourt-cupboards of white and gilt plate, or rather intended by the Queen and Gard. as an Honour to him, Her *Majeſty* came to entertain herſelf with the ſaid Count at the Caſtle of *Bois de Vincennes*, whereof he was the Gover-

verno ur

vernour; but in the middle of this treatment arrives *Beaufort*, discovering (as 'twas surmised) a notable alteration in his countenance, when he mist the Cardinal there, to whom he was become diffident, and towards whom he had an ill eye, as the obstacle of his designes, while certain Cavaliers, suspected to be set by him to kill his Eminency, scouted in little parties about the Wood, leaving strange apprehensions of their designe. And this notice was brought to the Cardinall, with such an Echo, as if the Duke, having failed to to find him there, was coming to surprise him in his owne palace: whereupon he hasted to recover himselfe in the *Louure*, where the principall of the Court came to congratulate with him, for the danger that he had escaped, and next day the Duke was arrested

in

in the Queens name, by the Captaine of her guards, and ſent to the ſame Caſtle as a Priſoner, and the Cardinall had the like guard allowed for his perſon, as his predeceſſor had before. But this perſwaded him to procure the detaining of *Chavigny*, as a neceſſary friend to have about him, and in his ſtead to ſend Monſieur *de Servient* with inſtructions for the treaty.

The diſcovery of a plot gives great advantage, and juſt plea to any Potentate, that was the object of it, to ſecure himſelfe more and root deeper; *Mazzarin* found occaſion by this meanes to move the Queen to prevent all diſſentions, that might be fomented in her Councel, that ſo ſhe might become the better fortified about her heart, to reſiſt thoſe qualmes, which might annoy her in civill broiles,

broiles such as alwayes use to infest the Minority of the *French Kings*, and such as did already discover some sad prognosticks to her *Regency*. Which so prevailed with her Majesty, that she dismissed the Bishops of *Beauvais* (of whom we have before made mention) and of *Lisieux* from sitting any longer in her councils, bringing in, in their steads, the Lord Chancellor and the Penitentiary of *Nostredame* in *Paris*, consenting likewise to bid some withdrawing to those that were suspected of disaffection, or had an ill character in the former reign.

The Duke of *Vendosme* with his son, the Duke of *Mercœur*, were also set a distance from the court or city of *Paris*, and the former by some rumours that were spred becoming more suspicious, was cited to his defence, and soldiers sent

sent to arrest him, but he made escape first to *Geneva*, and thence into *Italy*; from whence how he since returned, and had the Government of *Provence*, with the office of Grand Master &c. that is in lieu of High Admirall, and the survivall of this charge to his son the Duke of *Beaufort*, given to content him, cannot fall within my circuit, any more then the following honours of the Duke of *Mercœur* and his marriage to one of the Cardinall's nieces, it being a great step in policie towards a friendship to be a potent enemy, and their amitie being commonly more desired that have power, and will, to doe us mischiefe, then those that have both to do us good.

The stroke, which imminent danger can inflict, was no where else so green and tender as in *Catalonia*

talonia, since the enemies, that they feared were more potent neighbours, which had lately been their Masters, and the aide of *France*, that they now relyed on, was more on a nominall subjection then any reall dependance (their not having any bridle put into their hands, whereby to hinder the *Catalonians*, at their pleasure to reconcile themselves with *Spain*, and help to drive out them their adopted Guardians) Therefore the more care was requisite, to exhibit tokens of good affection to their people, since it was by this only correspondence, that the interest of the one could be preserved, and the hearts of the other surmount their owne Desponden-ces.

Nor did the *Spaniards* pretermit any due application of their designes to the *Catalans*: for

whilest

whileſt the imminent death of the late King was under expectation, the King of *Spain* in perſon, which ſince the time of *Charles* the *fifth* has been ſomewhat rare, advanced to *Saragoça* to foment ſome revolting from his enemies and adde the more vigor to his forces that way, as well as to encourage thoſe of *Arragon* and *Valencia*, who being next neigbours, & ſometimes dangerouſly touched by the nearneſſe of the fire, had ſhewed themſelves very forward in raiſing men for his Majeſtie's ſervice, without pleading of their priviledges, as they uſ'd too ſcrupulouſly on other occaſions: but finding theſe efforts of theirs the worſe ſeconded, by how much they did their part the better, began now to ſpeak out their diſcontentments. Yet neither the newes of that King's approaching, or of this Kings death, nor the

the writings ſcattered in *Barcelona*, exhorting them to returne to the open armes of their true and naturall Lord, while they were now freed, before any new allegeance ſhould come to be tenderd them; nor the downefall of *Olivarez*, who ſerved for a former pretence to their defectiõ, could any way alter the averſion of theſe people from the yoke of *Caſtile*, as they ſhewed openly by practiſing the ſame ceremonies, at the death of the *French King*, which before they uſed for that of the *Spaniſh*, with ſome exceedings in the ſumptuouſneſſe, which was interpreted as an owning of his ſucceſſor to be their Lord.

The *French* miniſters were no leſſe diligent to ſupport their hopes of wonted ſuccour, and qualifie their other jealouſies, and becauſe they could not diſſemble

their

their suspected unprovidedneſſe to issue in *Campagne* by reason of these accidents, they endeavoured to shew the more courage with those they had; and sent a strong partie to wast the county of *Rivagorça* (a vale sprinkled with good townes within the Kingdome of *Aragon*) which therewithall took and pillaged the towne and castle of *Estadiglia*, a place of 1000 houses, and within 3 leagues of *Monçon*, which it might well serve to protect in the *French* hands, and so defend the ground which they had gained within that Kingdome.

But his Majesty of *Spain* forth, with issues orders from *Saragoça* to *D. Filippo di Silva*, to goe and beset that place, quitting the designe of *Balaguer*, as too too hazzardous, it being hard to get any ill disaster recruited there, a little

good

good ſucceſſe at firſt promiſing fairely to accumulate in its progreſſe. Whereupon, according to appointment, the Marqueſſe of *Mortara* iſſues out of *Fraga*, with a body of 2500 horſe towards *Lerida*, a place whereof the *French* were moſt jealous, to carry their ſollicitude that way, and otherwiſe to pay themſelves by ſurpriſing ſome of their enemys in the quarters thereabouts, which taking effect, as it was deſigned, among the reſt ſome 50 *Catalans* were taken priſoners, which expecting no other but the puniſhment of Rebells, were freely diſmiſſed by the Marquis, ſaying, that His King did not make warre againſt his ſubjects, but againſt his Enemies. This allarme ſounded high at *Barcelona*, where the Vice-roy, for want of expected ſupplies out of *France*, not being ready

ready to put himselfe into the field with forces able to wage his enemie, was fain to hear his amorous pastimes objected to him, while the countrey was in imminent danger: and they again from him, their backwardnesse at such a time, to lend their assistance towards the paying of his armie, whereby he got from them a summe of 50000 Crownes, and then put himselfe on the way to *Lerida*, to provide for its securitie and that of *Flix*, which two he most feared. And once, when he went out with a party to cleer the Coast, he fell foule on a greater number of the enemy: and, being by nature bold and froward was trap't in the middle of them, his followers routed, and himself a prisoner for an hour or two, till at last espying where a few of his guard were coming to relieve him

having been by good fortune unknown that while, he spurred towards them, and by the fleetnesse of his horse recover'd Liberty.

Silva had by this time cover'd his back before *Monçon*, not having above 5000 foot, and 600 horse with him, because there was not forrage to be had for a greater number; but he had quartered near at hand other 3000, and 1500 more to dispatch on any necessary expedition, whensoever the *French* should attempt to succour it, while the king himself did valiantly appoint, at *Sarogoça*, an hundred Masses to be celebrated every day, for the happy successe of his Armes abroad.

The Vice-roy was sufficiently rous'd with this newes: But what should he do? He sends to *Barcelona* for 500 musketiers, and they send 1000 and order the *posse Principatûs*

cipatûs, the whole Militia of the Country to attend him, wherein those of his Dutchy of *Cardona* vied to be the forwardest, and with these directly marches to the trenches of the *Spaniards*, provoking them to battel: but he returnes answer, that first he would have *Monçon*, and after not refuse the combat. Wherefore finding that he could not force them, he retired with his forces backe to *Lerida*, and shortly after to *Barcelona*, to their great disgust there, and the Governour of *Monçon* was left to make his owne conditions, as he did very honorably: and this exploit (which made way for that of *Lerida* the next year) sufficed the *Spaniards* for this Campagne, returning to their winter Quarters, and the King with this Trophy to his court at *Madrid*.

In our way from hence to *Italy* we

meet with an insurrection of certain peasants against the exacters of the taxes. whereof one or two Ringleaders being taken and carried to *Villa Franca*, they were presently followed to the gates of the city, by about 10000 of them, with apeece of ordnance, demanding, with their fellowes, the Intendent of justice, who had caused them to be arrested: but the Mareschal *de Schomberg* with a few troopes out of *Languedoc* did soone suppresse these, as the Marquis of *Aumont* did some others, more menacing, in *Poicton* and *Xantongne*, with a few Regiments which he had in a readynesse there.

The state of *Milan* having now a new governor sent them out of *Flanders*, the Marquisse of *Vellada*, (the rather for having been an intimate

timate friend of Prince *Thomas*, when they ſerved the King of *Spain* together there, he might be the more proper to reduce him to his old devotion) might have hoped for ſome new favour from their fortune, as uſually happens at ſuch junctures, if before he ſaw himſelfe duely placed in his charge, he had not ſeen his enemie ſucceſſefull in the field by the taking of *Villanuova d' Aſti* (a place which bridled *Aſti*, the only priſe which the *French* had made the laſt Campagne in lieu of the *Tortona*) and now at liberty to employ their entire forces with the *Savoyards* on ſome other enterpriſe.

And firſt they attempted *Aleſſandria*, ſecuring all the advenues about the place with about 8000 foot, and 4000 horſe excepting only one quarter reſerved for the Marquis

Marquis of *Ville*, who was now ready to returne thither from *Villa nuova*, with 2000 foot more: but the *Spaniards* took that nicke of time to reinforce that garrison, though before well enough provided (but that the Prince trusted somewhat to his intelligence within it) with 1000 more both horse and foot, which obliged them to give over that designe, as not feasible. so that now it returned to the Council what exploit to try next, *Valenza* was most in their eye, but their forces scarce sufficient, because to straiten that they should be held to maintaine their siege in two quarters on the opposite banks of *Po*; and *Breme*, though a noble prize, was too strongly fortified. Wherefore the result fell on *Trino*, a place that might be more commodiously invested, and being neare their friends

friends, might better subsist there with their armie, and free them from the ordinary annoiances, which the *Spaniards* turned on them from that Hold: yet neither could they now wind their march with such traines though they divided and went about; as to seduce their enemy: or prevent his putting in 200 dragoones, and Cuirassiers the same night that they came to blocke it, making up in all a garrison of 1500 foot, and 300 horse, under the command of the Baron of *Vatteville* their Governour.

While the Prince, with his Brother *Maurice* of *Savoy*, and the Vicount (now Marshal) of *Turenne*, employed themselves in this Siege, they appointed Monsieur *de Counges*, Governour of *Casale*, with a part of that garrison, and other levies made about the Country

adjacent to take in *Camin* a little Castle which might serve to secure any convoys of victuall from *Casale* to the campe, which happily ensued, giving commodity to the Siegers to ply it close aboue 2 moneths, (when those within having stoutly maintain'd themselves so long, & now no longer able to repaire or man their breaches) were forced to capitulate. The new Governor was advanced with a part of his army between *Novara* and *Oleggio*, to cut off the *French* designes of seizing any Post besides the river *Tesin:* but they, having wel refresh't their soldiers, wheele about to *Ponteſtura*, a fortresse lying upon the *Po* betwixt *Casale* and *Trino*, where the Marquis (since also Marshal) of *Plessi-Praslin* form'd the siege (Pr. *Thomas* and *Turenne* being both out of health) while the Marquis of *Ville* lay on t'other side of the

river to hinder any ſuccours. The garriſon had 800 foot in it without horſe, and were not waning to their owne defence, till they themſelves did accidentally ſet fire to a mine of their enemies which blew up the miner and two other workmen: but made ſuch a breach upon themſelves, as forced them alſo to accept of conditions. The Governour had no remedy but to ſecure the places that were yet in danger, wherein he uſed great diligence; ſuch as great regret and hope in the future would excite in him: & he *French* accounting themſelves well appaied for this Campagne, retir'd to their winter Quarters.

But while the feud of eitheir nation employes its force of armes on the ſkirts of *Italy*, it holds their reciprocall art and intereſt in no leſſe exerciſe to gain authority in the heart of it; by bearing away the honour of Mediation betwixt

the *Pope*, and the *League* above-mentioned. And however among the infinite revolutions that every age produceth, there remaines but little record to posterity: save only where a lavish sword does engrave its owne tracke in indelible characters; yet in those emergents, which have gnaw'd their passage by the teeth of time, and travell through the joints of severall coalescent fortunes, there are left (though in lighter mould) more curious signatures of humane passions to be observed.

When this quarrell first began, and the *French* to intercede in it, the Cardinall of *Richelieu* was at the helme, and he in a bad opinion with the Pope: so that after the breach of the treaty at *Castel-Gorgio*, the *French* & *Ecclesiasticks* did recriminate one another, and the

the Pope charged *Richelieu* and his instrument *de Lionne*, to study rather to imbroile all things, then to pacify: and he every where declaimed against the *Barberini*, and wrote in his owne defence against the Cardinall *Spada*, who had been the *Popes* Plenipotentiary at that treaty. But when the Cardinall *Mazzarini* was come to the Government, the Pope and the *Barberini* consider'd him as a great confident obliged to them for his advancement, and bore a better eye to any overtures that afterwards ensued from that crowne. And he, that had not so much quick-silver in his humour, as his predecessor applied himselfe the more seriously to gaine this honour, as a notable point to illustrate the reputation of that crown and accredit himselfe in his owne Country. Wherefore considering

that

that although the Marquis of *Fontenay's* returne, did somewhat reduce the *French* interposition into new request; yet *Mons de Lionne*, by reason of disgusts that had passed, could no more continue a gracious person in the way of mediating, he procures the sending of Cardinall *Bichi*, then in *France*, in a noble way, and full commission to be the Plenipotentiary of that crowne, and its Mediator betweên the parties: which by reason of the Quality and qualities of the person, an *Italian*, a Cardinall, the most accort and full of Gentilesse of any other, was generally accepted with these Princes, and all proceedings towards a peace, left in suspense till his arrivall, though *de Lionne*, and the other *French* Ministers, did nothing slacke their wonted diligence to promote them.

And

And this was a quick incentive to the *Spaniard*, to thruſt in between this juncture, and get the ſtandard of his auhority erected firſt on the temple of peace; (eſpecially in that countrey where his awe had formerly borne ſo high, that the Princes of it durſt not diſpoſe of their ſubjects, of their children, or of their own perſons without conſent of his Council: & the *French*, that were his competitors, had not a foot of land in it, beſides their late acquiſts, that yet were under conteſtation) but many circumſtances did ſtill create him new impediments.

And firſt, that through the whole Pontificate of this Pope, which now had laſted 20 years and upwards, there had been *perpetuæ ſimultates* betwixt him and the *Spaniards*, theſe declaring him adverſe to their intereſts, as in effect

his

his Nephews were constant partisans of the other side. Then, that the *Spanish* Ambassador and the Cardinalls, that were dependants of that Crown, had divers Moneths since (and before *Fontenay*) retir'd in disgust from *Rome* (because the *Portugall* Ambassador (*Lamego*) pretending to be so received, and by assistance of the *French*, repulsing the *Spaniard's* violence, and endangering his Person in a street encounter, were countenanced more then He) whereby there rested a certain strangeness on all their interposalls, with such a distance, that every overture tooke wind before it tooke effect: whereas the *French* were still at hand to manage all their instances with life and presence towards the *Pope*, towards the *Republick*, and towards the respective *Princes*. Add

to

to these, that it was so long before any resolutions or patents could come from *Spain*; that those which at last arrived to the Vice-roy of *Naples*, to the Governor of *Milan*, to their Ambassador at *Venice*, to the Cardinalls *Monti*, *Cueua*, and *Albernoz* were all stale and importune: and so accordingly were their Ministers treated by the Cardinall *Barberino*, imparting nothing else but good words to them, and old rejected propositions, which had first been in the *French* hands, and could not be adjusted. And when they complain'd to the League of their non-admission to be Mediators; not withstanding their Masters good will, and right of neighbourhood, to interpose in all good offices, they receive in answer: that it was not their part to offer; but accept conditions from the

part

part of Rome, and that they were ready to hear any, that ſhould bring the faireſt termes of peace, which they had had before in ampler manner from the *French* Ambaſſador: and therefore gaind no more but complement, and to be made acquainted civilly as they proceeded.

Beſides theſe, there were two other obſtalces, cloſe: but more inſuperable: the firſt, that the King of Spain ſent not any Miniſter on that purpoſe, whereas the French had firſt recalled the Marſhal *d' Extrée* from *Rome*, becauſe he had incurred diſguſts there, and ſent the Marquis of *Fontenay* in his ſted, on this very errand: and when he alſo was diſguſted, and gone from *Rome*, they ſoon procured his re-calling; and the better to promote his applications, diſpatched firſt *de Lion-*

ne

re, and then *Bichi*, to accommodate them with the other parties: which were otherwise accepted, then the Agents or Ambassadors of the Vice-roy of *Naples*, and Governor of *Milan*, whose power in any emergent difficulty should referre to the Council at *Madrid*. The other, that when the *Pope* would have joined with the *Spaniards* to chastise the *French*, when their Ambassador had retir'd and left him hardly pressed by the League, there were no aides or Compliances to be got from them (as the Duke of *Parma* did also find, notwithstanding promises to keep him from accepting the *French* proffers, who as readily suppy'd him both with men and money) whether for want of confidence, or because re duc't to extream frugality to make both the ends of *Naples* and *Milan* hold together,

gether, and lend beſides an helping hand to *Flanders*, whereas they ſaw, to their great jealouſy, a power of *French* both in Popes and leagues ſervice, not knowing how they might be beſtowed either in the warres, or after a peace concluded.

Bichi arrived in *June* to execute his commiſſion, and firſt takes a Paſſe of the Duke of *Florence*, to conduct himſelf from *Genoua* to *Parma*, where that Duke being then abſent, the Duke of *Modena* took occaſion to invite him thither to complement, and prepare him for certain private intereſts, which he deſired to have comprehended in the treaty of peace; but thought it not then time to diſcover himſelf freely, nor the other to take any cogniſance, onely to ſound his intentions, & take the altitude of his aims, which were

at

t other pretensions that he had with the holy See about *Comucchio* and *Ferrara*: Thence he takes his way to *Bondeno*, a town of the late Ecclesiastical, where the D. of *Parma* was, having taken it in the war, and treats with him about the propositions which had already been sent from *Rome* to him, by the Marquis of *Fontenay*; but he found him most determined, now the terme assigned at *Castel-Georgio* was expired, to hearken to no depositing; but effectual restitution: wherein having well inform'd himself of his disposition, he goes to *Corraro*, the *Venetian* Proveditor at *Finale*, from whom he could onely get thus much in general terms, that the colleagues did desire a firme and durable peace, and that the late treaty at *Castel-Georgio* did admonish them to proceed with cir-

circumſpection. Whereupon he addreſſeth himſelf next to the Cardinal *Antonio Barberino*, the Popes nephew at Bologna, where he had the charge of his forces, acquainting him with the good diſpoſition that he found towards a peace, and preſſeth the nomination of a Plenipotentiary on the Popes part to promote a treaty; which the Cardinal anſwered, aſſuring him of his Holineſſes intention to that purpoſe already deſigned in the perſon of Cardinal *Donghi*. And with this he returnes again to *Corraro*, and General *Peſaro*, urging them to move their Republique to the ſame correſpondence, and writes to the *French* Ambaſſadour at *Venice* to apply himſelf effectually in the Colledge to that end, and withall ſends a writing to him, which had almoſt ſpoiled all in the firſt beginning. For

For when the Cardinal *Bichi* found that no good was to be done on the old propositions; but that from him a new Mediatour, new overtures were expected: he framed a new draught at *Bologna* out of the old, compared with the letters from *Rome* of the French Ambassadour, expressing the Cardinal *Francesco Barberino's* sense about the manner of according, which he communicated to the Cardinal *Antonio* and Secretary *Ferragalo*, and obtaining their approbation imparted them first to the Venetian Generals, and then to the French Ambassadour Resident there, to be communicated to the senate, whereupon he obtained from them the nomination of their plenipotentiary, the Procurator *Nani*. But when this draught was sent to *Rome* by the Secretary *Ferragalo*, the Card.

Francesco

Francesco forthwith displaces him utters raish speeches concernin *Bichi*, and in a Congregation o state, procures the disallowing o them with marginall exceptions to severall clauses in them: and i highly dissatisfied, that such a thing should be sent from *Bologna* (from whence the Ecclesiastical co probation might be presumed be fore it were exhibited at *Rome*: wch was not all; for something wa to be understood, which it gric ved the Cardinall *Barb.* to have unwarily been expressed: for whereas the restitution of *Castro* was before exhibited, the Card. (who had hitherto framed a 1000 colluſions to evade this restituti on) thought in some measure to have satisfied his passion against the Duke, by hindring him at *Rome* in some emolument of grain, issuing out of that state, to the Duke's

Duke's banke by severall patents granted by former Popes in favour of that house: but his secret drift in this businesse not being comprehended by his Brother *Antonio*, or their Secretary, when the termes of the draught came to be altered, it alter'd the case with it, and *Bichi's* proffers became thereby more ample then was intended. But he surmiseth nothing yet of what is poaching at the Court of *Rome*: in the mean time he takes his way towards *Florence* to comply also with that Prince, as one of the chief of the league, and learn what satisfaction 't was that he pretended, where he found a faire reception and nothing in effect more; but that he held it not convenient to admit any negotiation apart, but that the Plenipotentiaries of the Colleagues should agree together of

what

of what points to be insisted on: and with that answer returnes to Lombardy to resume the further management of the treaty, where he hears, that by the instances of the Marquis of *Fontenay*, the Cardinall *Donghi* was upon his way; but with order by no means to admit of his folio: but onely of that exhibited formerly by the Marquis, and sent to the other Resident at *Venice*. But all this while the many pleas of *Bichi* to procure a suspension of hostility, could availe little with the parties, especially with the league, who followed their armes the more vigorously, because they being to receive conditions would be sure to beat them downe to reason, while they had their adversary at the advantage, having lately beaten them at *Mongiovino*, and shortly after with a greater stroke at *Pittigliano*, where

where the grand Dukes forces proved the heavieſt to them. Yet the Duke of *Modena* was ſo much overpowred in his eſtates by the Church forces, and found the *Venetians* ſo much ſtartled at the taking of *Lagoſcuro* (a ſtrong place on their ſide of the river *Po*, which expoſed all their palaces, and country houſes to plunder & utter ruine) by the Papalins, that he could get no aides from them (they being all ſo poliſquely ligued, that they lov'd their neighbours rather, for themſelves then as themſelves) that he was contented to hearken, without ſtanding on termes, forren to the plea in hand, to a faire agreement, as well as the *Venetians*, for the reaſon ſpecified: and the *Grand Duke*, becauſe nothing was to be gotten by the war: for one neighbour will not permit any

augmentation in *Italy* to ano-
ther; but all are all againſt him
that removes the Landmarke
and plucking up the floodgates
a ſure letting in ſome forren inun-
dation, wherewithall that Coun-
trey has been ſo often plagued.
And eſpecially, that which is got-
ten of the Church, being not any
private Patrimony; but S. *Peters*
muſt be rendred back to the
next ſucceſſor, or elſe all Chriſ-
endome engaged in the quar-
tell: So that though the Church
uſurpe on other temporalities, yet
her owne are ſacred and not to be
touched. And this was the reaſon
why the war was ſo temperate
and in ſo long a time's contin-
ance (above 2 years) ſo little done
not that the ſtate Eccleſiaſtical
match enough for ſo many neigh-
bours (though of extent much
larger within *Italy*, then

by one of the ligued Princes: or so much richer; for it has but little benefit of the sea, and was so much exhausted, that no way was left to get money; the wealth of that state being in few hands, the Peasans miserable, and the publick poore, unlesse the Church utensills be reckon'd in the summe which would inflame it to a vastness: so that one Million was taken out of the Castel *S. Angelo*, which was one of the five put in by *Sixtus* 5. on that condition that it should not be taken out but in case of extremity, when the city of *Rome* was in utmost danger: and 15. Cardinals made at once to raise mony; but because of the remisseness of the league, as being defensive rather than offensive, and against the *Barberini*, as they would have it stiled, rather than against the Church. Nor was the D. of *Parma* so scrupulous on this

occasion, when excommunicated: but he expelled all the Religious in his dominions, that were of the State-Ecclesiastial, and all that would not continue in the exercise of their charges, and promise loyalty to him: and he himself frequented Masses more than before. Nor did his Neighbours feare to joyn with him, notwithstanding that enchantment, set upon his doores.

But now, that all parties desire peace, there is nothing more annoyant to it, then the point of reputation, the remora (the truest remora) of puntilioes: to remove which, the Card. *Bichi* would admit no expedient: but what can he do, while the most remorsive of any other, stuck upon himself, when he hears how his writing had been censured? Wherefore being on his way, from *Bondeno* towards *Ferrara*, and accompany'd thither

thither by *de Lionne*, the Cardinall *Donbgi* came at some good distance to receive him, and entring all into one Coach, there passed some resentive discourse between thē: which *de Lionne* gave the first occasion to, complaining of the vanity of any negotiation, by what was seen in the past treaty of *Castel-Geocgio*, and taxing the artifice of the Ecclesiasticks, with aversion to the peace: which led the Card. to speak, in like manner, of the bad requitall of his endeavours, by the censuring of his proposalls, although he had thereby with-held the Duke of *Parma* from assaulting the fort of *Lagoscuro*, at the same time with the *Venetians*; stopped the pretensions of the Duke of *Modena*; ballanced the Duke of *Florence*; obliged the benevolence of *France* towards the church, and obtained the nominating

nating of Plenipotentiaries for the treaty; that his writing contain'd nothing but what he had other writings to justifie it by, and in effect nothing different from the former, sent from *Rome*. That it should be as if it never were, for that he wold demand the originall of the *Venetian* Generalls, and burne it in the Card. presence at *Rome*, where he was resolued to conduct himselfe next in his owne vindication, though he had reason to fear that that action would cast all things farther from agreement, then ever they were before, and bring the league more powerfully arm'd and combin'd on the state Ecclesiasticall, then ever to that time.

Donghi answered, that he came as a new Plenipotentiary on a new negotiation, that the Pope did embrace his Eminency's endeavours

vours towards the peace, and that the Cardinall *Barberino*'s desire did only tend to that scope, that these propoſalls might paſſe only as an act of the ſame, as he was Mediatour; and not as yet allow'd at *Rome* (for *Donghi* abſtained as yet to expreſſe himſelfe fully to his commiſſion in this particular) and for his Eminency's intention of going to the Court of *Rome*, commended and adviſed it, as a thing proper for him to do, as a Cardinal and Mediatour, to paſſe the like offices with his Holineſſe, as he had already done with the other Princes, aſſuring him, that his arrival there had been erewhile expected.

But when the two Cardinals were come to *Ferrara*, they retired without *de Lionne*'s intervention, to debate more effectually about the meanes to purchaſe this

glory to themselves, and benefit to all *Italy*, to compremise this difference with the re-establishment of peace betwixt all parties, and first consider'd of the place of meeting for the Plenipotentiaries. *Bichi* urged, that such a ground of confidence might be laid in the ligued Princes, as to leave it to their election, *Donghi*, that that respect and reverence might be done to his Holiness and the Church, to have it within the Ecclesiastical State: which was the summe of their dispute, at that meeting, and so they part both, to returne to *Rome* by several wayes.

Bichi takes the way of *Florence*, and to salve his reputation of having exceeded his Commission, nd being disapprov'd at *Rome*, ives out that, that writing of his vas not disallowed, but onely dis-

avowed

avowed by the Cardinal *Barberine* to be none of his, to content the *Spaniards*, complaining that overtures of more importance were communicated to the *French* Ministers, then to those of his Catholick Majesty.

The *Imperial* Ambassadour, being moved by the *Spanish*, doth yet persist at the Senate, in declaring the Pope's willingnesse to deposite *Castro* in the Emperour's hands, & acquaints them that his Imperial Majesty had licenced the Duke of *Savelli* from his service (because he was a *Roman* subject, and at this time Lieutenant General of their armes) lest his partiality should be a prejudice to his Majesties mediation. The Senate knew this to be a delusion of the *Barberini* (effectual restitution having been before proffer'd to the *French* Ministers) yet they answer with good respect

referring to the meeting of the several plenipotentiaries, but when the Ambassadour pressed further, than an Imperial Deputy might be present at it, they put it off on purpose, to stop any such pretension.

It does not so directly belong to this scene to follow the Cardinal *Bichi* in the infinite windings through which he was train'd at *Rome*, nor to consider the jealousie of the Colleagues on his delaying so long there without any issue: and much longer he might have been, notwithstanding his dexterity, if the last *chocque* at *Pitigliano* had not forced them to some conclusion: suffice it to say, that at the latter end of *November* he returnes with his propositions well adjusted and power to treat of any Neutrall place, being void of garrison, within the *Mantouan* but

But cõsidering on the way, what obstructions were likely to accrue with this designed congresse, both in respect of the formalities of procedure which might occasion some distgusts: & the counterworking of so many divers heads and interests, but especially by the spleen of the *Austrians*, which would not cease to deale by him and the peace here, as they had done at *Rome*, casting all imaginable rubbs against the course of it, he thought it better to treat with the interessed Princes themselves at their owne places, and so passing from one to another to prepare them for the sealing of Articles interchangably. Which once before induc't him to delay at *Florence* til he had cõmunicated this design & found an approbation of it frõ all sides. Then he offers by the *French* Re-

sident

ſident at *Venice*, to tranſport himſelfe thither to finiſh this affaire, which they accept the gladlier, that the Grand Duke might not reſt Arbiter of the league, by drawing all the management that way; and when he arrived there, his entertainment was extraordinary. When he came to their confines, they ordered the *Podeſtà* of *Chiozza*, to receive him at the *Poleſella*, and diſcharge him, with ſumptuous treatment, through all their dominion. I omit the noble way of meeting and receiving him into their City. But when he came to his publick audience, the *Doge* met him at the top of the ſtaires with the whole *Signory*; where he tooke off his crowne to ſalute him, and putting himſelf on the left hand, walkes uncover'd to the *Gran Sala*, & ſo to the ſteps of the Throne, where they mounted

ted both together, but yet the Cardinall a little before, and was the first placed in the Ducall seat, enlarged on purpose for this occasion, to receive 2 persons. Being thus sate at the Dukes right hand, he presented his Majesty's credentiall letters, which were read by a secretarie, before a numerous throng of people. After which the Cardinall deliver'd his publick complement, and the *Doge* made answer, which ended that ceremony, and prepared so well for following negotiations, that within a while after, when he tooke his leave to meet again with *Donghi*, the whole treaty had been finished; but that a dangerous sicknes of the *Pope* had almost reversed all: but as soone as he recover'd it, *Donghi* transferres himself to *Ferrara* to subcribe the articles, the other Plenipotentiaries

ries waiting at *Venice* to ſubſcribe them in like manner, and date them the ſame day, the import whereof amounted to thus much.

That the *Pope* and *League* ſhould plight their faith to the K. of *France*, that all things ſhould be reſtored to the State wherein they were before the Wars, whereof the ſaid King ſhould take hoſtages to be deliuer'd at *Caſale* till the execution, and the ſaid King ſhould promiſe and engage to turn his arms on the non-obſerver of this accord, and ſhould crave abſolution in due manner, on behalfe of the Duke of *Parma*, which was accordingly ſubſcribed *March* 31. 1644. by *Donghi* the Popes Plenipotentiary at *Ferrara*, by *Bichi* for the King of *France* (who alſo ſtipulated for the Duke of *Parma*) and the other 3 Commiſſioners

missioners at *Venice*, the same day: which was the ending at present of this turmoile, to the great content and reputation of the *French* Ministers. But although the treaty were punctually put in execution, within the terme of 60 dayes after signing: yet it did not long availe the Duke of *Parma*: for the next Pope *Innocent* the 10. on a sudden repriſed and razed *Caſtro* to the ground, erecting only in the middle of it (as I have been told at *Rome*) a ſtone with this inſcription, *Qui ſtava Caſtro*. And the preſent Pope, *Alex.* 7. has re-entred on theſe Eſtates, and the Emoluments of them, as confiſcations to the Church (which was the Dukes undertaker towards the Montiſts) notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his Ambaſſador, pretending that the ſickneſſe was only the cauſe why the Duke had

had not satisfied his obligations within the terme indented: but the Duke at present is young, and under too great ingagements (besides his love of pleasure) to recover these estates: nor shall ever, in any probability, be able to find the like assistance, as his Father did.

And here I may have a faire outlet, which I would gladly have burst through, to have found sooner.

We have now survey'd the whole Campagne of this yeare, excepting only one encroachment, unluckily jutting into *Germany*, where the Count of *Guebriant*, being straitned and overpowered by the Duke of *Bavaria* in his quarters, between *Brisach* and *Strasburg*, and his correspondents, the *Swedes*, diverted then into *Denmark* (with almost as great succesſe

ceſſe, as at this inſtant) ſollicites earneſtly at the Court for new recruits: which accordingly ſends order to the Duke of *Anguien*, to diſpatch ſome of his ſquadrons from *Thionville* thither, it being but a few dayes march diſtant, wherein when the ſaid Duke had obſerved orders, he came himſelfe to *Paris*, to ſee his Lady, and the little ſon, which ſhe had lately brought him, to the great content of the kindred of the late Cardinall, whoſe Niece ſhe was. The ſame night he went to reverence the Queen, who received him with tokens, anſwerable to that eſteeme which ſhe made of his valour, and the ſignal ſervices, that he had render'd to the Crowne in that Campagne. But he had not reſted long, before he is again deſigned to conduct other aides into *Germany*, which either the blandiſhments of the

the Court, or an opinion that such a service might be as well discharged by any ordinary Marshal of the Campe, as by himselfe, or else that he had some other recompense in his eye, then yet he had obtained; made him frame excuses to the great disgust of the Ministers of state, who thereupon perswaded with her Majesty to commit that charge to the Duke of *Angoulesme*, who being nigh upon the place might assume it the more readily: but upon the first receipt of this commission, he immediately dispatches a Gentleman to the Court to excuse himself that from expedition, being hindred by the goute from exposing himself to any other paines: which unexpected answer would have troubled the Queen and her Council, if at the same time the Duke of *Anguien*, being prompted

pted with an ardor after new triumphs, had not offer'd to resume that trust to the great contentment of the Queen, and all the Kingdom, as the confluence of Soldiers proved. And while the rest are providing the Count of *Ranzàu* is dispatch'd afore with about 8000 choice men, drawne out of the Queens Regiments, with the *Scotch* and *French* guards to joyne with *Guebriant*, and so to force the *Bavarians* out of *Wirtemberg* and seize themselves of their quarters: that so they might not onely subsist themselves; but returne the burden of those Soldiers on the estates of their own Elector, and so oblige him to hearken to a peace, and raise themselves to the higher reputation, within *Germany*, at the opening of the *Munster Congress*.

The arrivall of the Count of

Razàu

Ranzau (making the army up some 14000 men) was very troublesome to the thoughts of the Marshall of *Guebrian*, least he, being a great favorite of the Cardinal's, should be sent as his controller, and if any disgrace should happen, to be his successour, which apprehension became disastrous to his conduct: for although he were more sensible, then any other, of the danger of passing too hastily to the other side of the *Rhine*: yet the sense of *Ranzau*, being followed by the officers under him, imposed a necessity on the Marshal to put it in execution: so that on the first day of *Novemb.* they began to advance by a bad token; for the sky, that was clear before, mantled on a sudden, and fell in continued folds of snow for a moneth together, which made the ways so deep that the Cannon was not dragged

ged without great dificulty: and Generall *Rosa*, whom the Marshal sent before to discover and cleer the coast, though he had been, at other times, a vigilant & a valiant Captain, was at night surprised in his Quarter, by one Coll. *Sporch*, a Captain before of no note; and his men, which were the double number, routed by 600 of this *Sporch's*, with the prise of 800 horse. Which news being brought to *Guebrian* did so amuse him, that he said publickly: that such a Capt. that had given so signall proofes of his valour, in 30 severall occasions and above, which he could reckon, should be so surprised and beaten by one Coll. *Sporch*, did confirme in him his former doubts that, what had been prognosticated in the councill, would not answer in the event, and with that he went to hear Masse.

The

The ſquadrons of *Ranzau* were but ill provided for the warfare of a *German* winter: and many got away from the army. Nor was the ſcarcity of bread a ſmall diſaſter to it, which the beaten Soldiers put a mong the baggage; but the reſt that carried it in their Knapſacks ſpoil'd by the weather; ſo that once again, *Guebrian* deviſed to aſſigne them to their quarters: but *Rantzau* again prevailed with him to aſſault *Rotweil*, a place fortified with towers, and a dry trench without bulwarks: and the Snow continuing the Cannon was not yet arrived at the Camps; ſo that the defendants repulſed all aſſaults with great ſlaughter, and prolong'd the time till the *Bavarians* had united all their forces to come and ſuccor it: ſo that once again the Gen. mov'd with the Count of *Ranzau* to withdraw their

their army: but with the like ſucceſſe as he had done before. Wherefore applying his utmoſt diligence to proſecute the ſtorme, and direct the mines with one of the ordnance (that were ſince com in) he was ſtricken by a Cannon ſhot in the right arme, which proved mortall to him, and grievous to the ſoldiery (he being reputed one of the prime Captains of the age) who notwithſtanding, after 14 dayes ſpent in this ſiege, conſtrained the delivery of this place.

But leaſt the death of *Guebrian* ſhould ſeeme to contribute to the glory of *Ranzàu*, while he leads the army further to *Tutlinghen*, the *Bavarians* come upon him on the ſudden, by the benefit of a wood near at hand, and having ſurpriſed the artillery, unexpectedly turned it againſt the city, and then blockt

blockt it up, holding all the Souldiers within it, Prisoners. On which noise, Generall *Rosa* hastens with his Cavalry to the Head-quarter: but finding his attempt too late, and the *Bavarians* set in battel, he went to return to *Rotweil*: but before he could recover it, he finds it repriſed by his enemies. The other Quarters of the *French* Army were over-powr'd in the like manner: onely ten Regiments of Horſe tooke flight, which the *Italian* Regiment of Cardinal *Mazzarin* coming to joyn withall, and to maintain their ground, remained for the moſt part dead (after brave reſiſtance) upon the place. *Rosan* himſelfe remained priſoner, with his chief Officers, above five thouſand more, and two and fifty Cornets and Enſigns, with all the Baggage and the Cannon.

for all this misfortune, the Cardinal redeem'd *Hanzan*, of the Duke of *Lorrain*, who had joyned his Forces on this occasion, for eight thousand Pistols, not without resentment of the Emperor, and Elector.

And now, having brought my Readers into a direct road, 'twill bee high time for me, to return, and take fresh breath, in the sweetest aire of *England*, which may be done best, from this place by the way of the *Low Countries*, where at *Brussels*, we have the *Spanish* Plenipotentiary *Don Diego di Saiavedra*, who had taken *Paris* in his way thither, to complement with the Queen, and to condole with her (as hee pretended) about the King's death: but his intention being first communicated to the *Dutch* and *Swedish* Residents, 'twas thought fitter to deny him Audience, lest it should occasion any

jealousie to theſe their Confederates about any under-hand compliances relating to their common intereſts, now to be debated. His buſineſs here, is onely to attend the motions of the *French* Plenipotentiaries, and to be ſure (at leaſt) to keep as much ſtate, as they ſhould do, about his appearance, and advancement towards the place. But theſe will finde in *Holland* employing all their art, to engage that people to an adequate concurrence with them at the Treaty; ſo that both their ſatisfactions ſhould run in one line, and neither of them admit of (either Peace, or Truce without the iſſue of the other: and in caſe the Peace ſhould not be concluded (as it hapned) before the next Campagne, to prepare ſome overtures, which afterwards took effect, of joyning their

united Forces, by Sea and Land, to thrust the *Spaniards* out of *Gravelling* and *Dunkerk*. The success of which, as then glorious to the Cardinal's direction, and now revived by another (I hope) yet more vigorous and noble conjunction, will (no doubt) dispense with my hand, and engage sublimer Pens to glory in the subject.

Et sat erunt qui dicere laudes,
Galle, tuas cupiant & tristia condere bella.

Postscript.

BY the vacancie of these remaining pages, and the Printer's importunity, I am almost constrained, beyond my resolution, to a superfluity of Apologizing. For however no body will imagine, that I my selfe should invent true History, or scarce oblige me any further to quote my Authors (which some accuse as a kind of pedantry) then they themselves have done those others, whose credits they usurp, which would impose upon the Reader with too much impertinency. Yet I doe not envy a faire acknowledgement, (though I am beholden to more than twenty more) to Him that has done me the greatest courtesie, for the matter of so poor a webbe; and to let the world know, that it is Mer-

curio

curio disturi, a Writer so voluminous, that we need not either of us suspect a translation. Though I have rambled in such a fashion through Him, and so confounded him with others, and abounded in my own behalf, that I could wish it either for the publick benefit, or my own vindication. But in the interim, I do not think the end can deserve so much pains, or the poorness of my reputation provoke any free spirit, to undergo the trouble of comparing them: so that all my security is the smallness of my own merit, and the assurance of my good intention, which having done no wrong, is not liable to much exception: especially, if you be pleased first, to correct these few Errata, and think, if you find any more of lighter consequence, that I either overlapp'd, or on purpose did neglect them.

FINIS.